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867 Another episode concerns a small boy who had just become
602 aware of the "polite form" of speech, that indirect mode of ad-
[601] dress in use between affinal relatives who must conduct them-
[576] selves with restraint when they are together. He approached his grandmother's home where there were visitors before whom he was too bashful to appear and, in this most formal manner, asked if the guests were still inside. He was, of course, greeted by
[606] laughter. He did not realize until later that he "was doing what a son-in-law does who thinks his mother-in-law is in a certain place and wants to make sure before he goes in."

867 A comparable mistake was made by some little boys at a girl's
• 881 puberty rite. During the ceremony the adolescent girl runs around a basket tray placed to the east of the ceremonial structure. In her path, that the benefits of the ceremony may accrue to them also, run young boys and even old men. "When the girls ran around the basket, we boys were expected to run after them. At first, we thought it was a real race, and several of us beat the girls. Then one old man told us that it was not the way, that we were not supposed to pass them, so we stayed behind the other three times."

869 Even when the cultural ethic has been unmistakably indi-
764 cated, a youngster may lag in conforming to it. One man was
[761] reluctant to talk about death or burial, for horror of such topics is great, but he confessed that this had not always been his state of mind:

> I remember that whenever a funeral procession was passing by we were told not to look at it. But we did look at it whenever the old people were not around.
>
> I once asked my grandmother where they were taking a dead man who was being carried away. She told me not to look at the procession. Then she told me that they were putting the man away; that he couldn't walk, or dance, or eat, or sing by himself any more; that they were putting him under the ground.
>
> "But if they are putting him under the ground, how will he keep the dirt out of his eyes?" I asked. She explained to me that he was all fixed up so that no dirt would get in his eyes. It was the first time I had ever thought about death. I began to ask more questions of my grandmother, but she told me that he couldn't come back any more and to stop talking about it.
>
> [857] A few days later we children played funeral. We killed grasshoppers and buried them.
>
> I wasn't afraid until I was about seven years old. Then I learned about ghosts, and from that time on I was pretty much afraid.

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865 861 Another punishment for crying is to pour a little cup of water slowly on the child's head. It is cold and the child stops. Then we get another cupful and ask, "Going to cry again?" The child says, "No."

But the parent is usually gentle with the child. "If you love a child, it is awful to hear him cry or to have other children angry with him. You want to play with him and please him." Therefore, forceful measures of any kind are avoided where threats will gain the desired end. "We tell children we will put them in a sack if they are not good. I told it to mine. I never did it though."

863 789 Instead of punishing a child for enuresis, other means are used to treat the difficulty. "If a child wets the bed, we put a bird's nest there and let him wet it. Then the nest is thrown to the east, and the child won't wet the bed any more."

865 881 788 Another ceremonial aid in child-training calls for the assistance of the adolescent girl at the time of her puberty rite: "If a child, a boy or a girl, is mean, they bring it to one of the girls. She takes pollen and hits him on the mouth four times with it. Then he can't talk evil any more and will be good."

865 538 Thoughtless children who are a nuisance to their elders are chastised in subtle ways. One of the most popular is to send an ill-mannered boy on a wild-goose chase. This is a favorite device of story-tellers. The old man bides his time; then, at a convenient stopping-place he picks up his tobacco pouch as though he is going to smoke, assumes his most innocent expression, and

. . . . says to this boy, "You get 'that with which one smokes' for me. I want to smoke with it and I left it over at the next camp." There is no such thing as "that with which one smokes." He just sends the boy to get rid of him.

When the boy gets over to the next camp, the man there tells him, "Go over to So-and-so's place. I just sent it over to him." Sometimes a boy chases it all night. Then another boy cuts up, and that boy is sent over to see what happened to the first one.

861 [855] "The Chiricahua loves his children and does not like to whip them"; but, when other methods fail, he resorts to corporal punishment. "Parents never whip their children unless they won't get up and run a race or something like that. Parents try to make men of them, and some punish them for not minding.",

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His first attendance at the girl's puberty rite is likely to be an unforgettable occasion. He is brought forward that his face may be painted with pollen by the girl. To insure his health and growth, she may pick him up and hold him to the directions, and, if he is small for his age, she may be asked to place her hands under his chin at the neck and lift him.

So that a child may grow tall he is lifted four times to the new moon. He is warned never to urinate in an anthill, lest he have bladder stones. That he may not become lonesome in the absence of a departing relative, the traveler wets his finger with saliva and touches it to the child's face. If, nevertheless, he does get lonesome, a basket is placed four times over his head. When their father is on the raid, the children are urged not to throw the wood for the fire around carelessly, lest their parent become confused about the direction to take. When a child loses a tooth, he is counseled to say, "I hope I have another tooth," and to throw it to the east or to tie grama grass around it and throw it to the sun; that witches may not retrieve it and do him harm, he is told to dispose of it at some remote spot. The child is also advised not to watch masked dancers being decorated and never to call the name of an impersonator whom he may recognize. To safeguard him against sickness, a fringed buckskin amulet containing a growth from the creosote bush may be strung around his neck. Such practices, solemnly advised by his elders, impress the child with the efficacy of magical aids and with the proximity and power of the forces against which they are pitted.

During this early period, too, the child learns of the evil animals and the natural agencies toward which he must exercise special care. "Drop that feather!" someone may call as he stoops to pick up a buzzard feather. Or the nature of a disease resulting from contact with Snake is explained by one who has ceremonial power from it and knows its ways. A person with such knowledge often takes measures that protect the children of the vicinity:

In the summer when the snakes came back and the parents were afraid that the children would be bitten, this woman used to call many children together and sing for them, and she would put a cross of pollen inside each moccasin for them. She told them not to call Snake too much or it would come and not to look for it

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[604] position of stepmother to these youngsters.[11] Her very closeness
[587] to her sister, the fact that these girls have played and worked to-
[595] gether since childhood, establishes her interest in the develop-
ment of her sister's children. The chances are that she will per-
[431] form protective ceremonies for them, that she will give them
[574] food and presents, that they will be frequent visitors in her home,
and that she will offer them economic assistance in times of need.

[881] At the puberty rite of her sister's daughter, she will give gen-
[584] erously of her labor and provisions. When her niece is about to
marry, she will doubtless act as one of the group of relatives who
passes on the desirability of the union; she will help erect the
dwelling to which the husband will be brought; and she may
[583] furnish household necessities. When her nephew marries, her
household will contribute to the gifts to be presented to his
[868] bride's relatives. The degree to which she participates in the in-
struction of her sister's children will vary with her own proficien-
cy. If she knows a great deal about the medicinal value of plants,
it is quite likely that she will transmit that information to her
sister's daughter as well as to her own girls.

[591] Somewhat different are the relations between the child and the
mother's brother, for he resides with the extended domestic
family only until he marries. If he is considerably younger than
the mother, he may be around during the entire childhood of the
individual; if he is older or near her age, he may depart while the
[574] child is yet very young. But even after he leaves the encamp-
ment through marriage, he frequently visits his parental home.
[596] At first, to his wife's relatives, he is a stranger and an unproved
[602] acquisition. He is bound to many of them by obligations of
avoidance, restraint, and economic assistance, but the warmer
bonds of kinship and prolonged common residence are lacking.
[851] Therefore, until he has children of his own and his status among
his wife's relatives is established, he is likely to keep in closest
touch with his own blood kin. There is a good deal of restraint

[601] [11] When a woman marries her deceased sister's husband or becomes her sister's co-wife, the stepmother term may be used as a self-reciprocal between her sister's children and herself, or the mother's sister term may be continued. The first is the more common practice.

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privately ridiculed. Perversion seldom occurs and is not countenanced; it may even be equated with witchcraft.

The elders do not rely entirely on implicit attitudes and the demands of the training process to guard their children from undesirable sex scrapes but provide continual supervision as well. When an unmarried girl goes to social dances, she is accompanied by an older relative. Or she herself may be put in charge of a younger child so that she will not have time for an assignation. Her mother is strict and watchful. She tells the girl not to permit any intimacies from men or boys before her marriage and warns her about bearing unwanted babies. "A girl who goes wrong is usually one who has no close relatives, no mother, father, grandparents."

The mother, the grandmother, or some other female relative gives the girl counsel as the time for her first menses approaches. She is told that menstrual blood is dangerous to men and is instructed how to keep clean. She is encouraged to endure bravely the possible accompanying pain, for "as long as she acts like a child she is going to have a hard time at menstruation."

It is at this time that the girl may have a ceremony performed over her which results in sterility:

> No woman should be sterile. There is no excuse for any woman not to have children. That's the way my people talk and feel about it. The trouble is that those who are sterile have been ruined right when they came of age, about the time when they had their first flow. A girl's own mother might have a woman fix it so the girl won't have children. The father won't know anything about it. Sometimes the mother, who has had children and knows the pain and hard time of it, doesn't want her daughter to have children. There are women right now who know this kind of thing. S. and B. have had no children, and this must be why. Those who made us made every woman to have children without exception if not interfered with.

Often a similar charge is directed against a jealous shaman who has been called for some other service but who has taken advantage of the opportunity to injure the girl:

> We didn't have children for the first five years. We didn't try to prevent it. Then my wife found out that when she was young and sickly an old woman gave her some medicine. She didn't know it at the time, but it turned out to be medicine to prevent children. Some Indian women do this just for meanness.

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THE GIRL'S PUBERTY RITE

836 881 *The scene and the actors*—The girl should come to her first menses and her puberty rite a virgin. The proper performance of the ceremony is supposed to grant long life to the singer as well as to the girl, and it is dangerous for a practitioner to sing for a girl who has been "spoiled," for his life will thereby be shortened. When a girl who is about to pass through the ceremony is discovered to be unchaste, she is fortunate if she is not cast off to fend for herself.

881 [582] First menstruation is an important transition point in the girl's life. Before this physiological event and her puberty rite, she is called a girl; afterward the term "woman" is applied to her. Before the rite she is not eligible for marriage; afterward she is considered of marriageable age.

The rite itself has become the focal point for a complex of events—social, economic, and ritual. The term for this interwoven pattern of activities is simply "a ceremony has been set up." Of a girl who is nearing maturity, it is said, "She is one through whom the people are going to have a good time" (i.e., a ceremony and a social occasion). If a girl who is about to enter womanhood falls sick and the shaman who is hired to cure her finds evidence of witchcraft, it is attributed to the jealousy of some evil person. Additionally, it is considered an affront "out of meanness" against all the people. Should the identity of the evildoer be discovered, the ire of the entire community is directed against him.

881 [626] Normally, every girl is the center of such a rite. "A girl who does not go through this ceremony is not discriminated against, but it is thought that she will not be healthy and will not live long." Only a girl who is "poor in relatives" passes through this phase of her life-journey without the proper ceremonial help and the accompanying popular recognition.

Preparations for the rite begin as much as a year or more before the first menses:

> They can go out and get deer [in preparation for the rite] at any time, and they can have the feast at any time of the year. They store things away for it. They notice that their girl is getting to be a young woman, and so they begin to get things ready for the ceremony. They get their in-laws to help at this time.

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These preparations tax the resources of any one family. Therefore, because of the pleasurable public aspects of the rite, individuals outside the relationship group may lend aid, and its approach is a signal for exceptional generosity in many matters. 881 431 476

The man who's with you [on the hunt] is ruling you. He tells you what he wants and takes it. But many times it happens this way: if you were out with a thoughtful man and you had a daughter who was going to have a feast next summer, this man you're hunting with might say, "Your daughter is going to have a feast, and you haven't enough buckskin. You keep all the hides." He would do that because maybe that might be your last chance to get buckskin.

Buckskin is needed for the ornamented dress which the girl will wear during the rite. At least five skins are required: two for the upper garment, two for the skirt, and one for the high moccasins. This clothing follows the ordinary dress in cut, but only choice materials are used, and the garments are decorated with special designs. The girl's mother, her grandmother, or some other close female relative may work on this clothing; but, if no one in the family has the requisite skill, an outsider may be hired. The maker proceeds carefully and according to prescribed rules. Doeskins or buckskins may be used, but the tail suspended from the jacket must be that of a black-tailed doe. For the upper garment the skin side faces outward; for the skirt the flesh side is out. 881 292 294 [602]

The garments are decorated with designs symbolic of the forces which will be supplicated on behalf of the girl. The morning star and the crescent moon may be represented, as may a stepped design symbolizing the dwelling. Circles indicate the sun, and fringes streaming from their centers, the sunbeams. Connected arcs stand for the rainbow. Before the dress is finished all parts have to be colored yellow, the hue of pollen. Yellow ocher may be rubbed on, or the buckskin may be dyed in a liquid prepared from algerita roots. [532] [386]

The dress must be blessed as well as beautifully finished: [789]

While it is being made they have someone sing for it. J. [a man] used to do it. But this singer is usually an old woman. She sometimes sings over it during two months. The family has to give her a great deal for these services. Sometimes the woman who makes it ties amulets on and sings for every string. [533]

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During the ceremony the girl is constantly attended and advised by an older woman. Because this woman punctuates certain moments of the rite with a distinctive, high-pitched cry, one name for her is "she who makes the sound." The first use of this cry of applause is attributed to White Painted Woman when her son returned to her after vanquishing the monsters. The helper is also known as "she who trots them off," a reference to the ceremonial run on which she sends the girl. For the sake of convenience she will be called "the attendant" in these pages.

The role which the attendant plays in the girl's puberty rite amounts to a separate ceremony which fits, like part of a mosaic, into the ritual whole. These women, when they become too old to carry on their duties further, teach their lore to others and thus perpetuate the office.

Unlike the rites of shamans, the ceremony of the attendant is knowledge which was granted humankind by the supernaturals in the beginning. No personal experience is at its root, and it is simply learned by one woman from another. Once it is learned, it is, however, an individual possession. The woman must be personally approached and asked to lend her help, and she may even [illegible] to participate. She must always be rewarded if she does perform the function.

The place of the attendant, then, is somewhere between the purely individualistic shamanism which predominates in the religious life and true priestcraft. Even here a suggestion of the purely shamanistic premise persists, for women who "know" a ceremony from the moon or who have had a supernatural experience with White Painted Woman are thought to carry on this ceremony with best results. Although exceptions are reported, the attendant is most often a woman of advanced years, in keeping with the custom of having elderly practitioners carry out ceremonies for younger people.

Within reach of any large encampment are women who have the right to act as the girl's attendant. "The choice of the woman who attends the girl is up to the parents. They can choose any woman they want." The understanding with the attendant is reached well in advance:

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When they are just beginning to talk about the ceremony, the girl goes to the woman who is going to take care of her. She brings an eagle feather to this woman. The girl holds the butt end and motions four times with the tip end of the feather toward the woman. The woman takes it the fourth time. Then the woman will take care of the girl. She will rub her and push her out to run.

Right from this time the girl calls that woman "mother," even though she is no relative, and this woman calls the girl "my daughter." And they give each other presents throughout life.

The most conspicuous ritualist of the ceremony is one who will be called "the singer" because it is his primary task to superintend the erection of the sacred shelter in which the songs of the rite are chanted and to sing the songs.

The role of the singer also hovers on the border line between shamanism and priestcraft. He does not depend on a personal supernatural encounter for obtaining his songs, nor does he believe that he can intercede for the benefit of the girl through impromptu appeals to supernatural forces with which he is in special rapport:

I became a singer just through experience. I was interested. Every chance I got I sat inside the tepee and sang the songs. I went to the ceremony every time and learned the songs. I connected myself with this ceremony over forty years ago and learned it from the ground up. I approached one of the men who conducted the ceremony and asked for help. The one who is learning to be a singer gets instruction right at the ceremony. When he has enough experience, he conducts it himself. It is very simple. The prayers don't take long to learn. In the course of two or three ceremonies, even, the songs can be learned. I gave no payment to the one who instructed me.

The fact that no payment passed between this man and the one who taught him the songs is convincing proof that the songs are not a personal shamanistic possession but are conceived of as the sacred property of the people as a whole. A shaman seldom parts with his ceremony unless appropriate payment is made both to him and to the supernatural source involved.

In the selection of the singer the greatest forethought is exercised:

Well, suppose you were an Indian here and you had a granddaughter who was growing up. You would come around and say that you wanted your granddaughter to be White Painted Woman. You know me very well, and you say to me, "There are three or four men who know how to sing for this ceremony. Just

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881 793 533 [608] between you and me which one of these men do you think should sing for my granddaughter? Which one should I make my friend?"

And right there you want to be very careful. If you choose one of these men, you are brother to him all your life, even if you are not related to him. You call him friend, but you think just as much of him as you do of your brother. He thinks of your children as his children. After the ceremony is over, you give each other some valuable things—saddles, horses, anything that is worth something. When a man is poor, he gives what he can; it doesn't matter. They do that as long as they live. They might come out equal in giving things to each other.

[431]

Then I think about it and say, "You take B. for your granddaughter."

If you choose him, he will be there to see that everything is done right and he will be in there to bless your granddaughter in his way. He blesses all the people when they are putting pollen on the girl. Right in that tepee he asks for good in life for your granddaughter, for all good things, for long life. That's what the ceremony is for. It's up to the man that you choose to have the girl do the things that have always been done in this ceremony. He directs things.

In the minds of individuals the singers are graded according to considerations of friendship and faith. Some singers are thought by their admirers "to know the songs better and to know more about the ceremony." Others watch the fates of the girls for whom particular men have officiated.

I can't say which is the best. The girl my father sang for is still living and is healthy. Many girls die. The ceremony is held so that the girl will grow up and be strong, so you must watch for that. For the girl's puberty rite the Eastern Chiricahua and the Central Chiricahua singers sometimes teach different things. Whatever the singer in charge tells you to do, you must obey. You must follow his directions.

[184]

The singer is a free agent as far as obligation to participate in any specific ceremony is concerned:

S.'s mother-in-law was one of the feast-givers. She was talking about the preparations they were making. Just at this time W. [a singer] came up. She spoke to him, asking him to sing for her girl. She called him "brother" and pleaded with him. She said, "I am old and crippled and had to wait to see you. I had no way to get to see you before."

W. just sat there for a long time and said nothing. Then he said, "It looks as if you were waiting for me to come around so it would be easy for you to ask me." He acted as though he wasn't going to do it.

The singer takes his task seriously: "I was singing for C. I took care of her. All my thoughts and efforts were for that girl during the ceremony."

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The girl feels good toward the man who sings for her too. She gives him presents now and then. She has to give the man a horse and saddle at the end of the ceremony. Usually he gets a good buckskin and blankets too. The father of one of the girls who recently went through her ceremony had only one good horse, but he had to give it to the singer. It's that gray one that B. [the singer] rides now. He had to do it according to the Indian way.

For the girl, her relatives, and a few serious-minded individuals the ceremonial aspects of the occasion will be of most significance. But for most of the guests the feasting, the social dancing, and the performance of the masked dancers will be the greatest attractions.

The masked dancers are men dressed and decorated to represent mountain-dwelling supernaturals. The dancers themselves possess no power and no ceremony. But the one who "makes" them, who fashions the masks they wear and paints or directs the painting of their bodies, is a shaman who controls a most important ceremony. The primary purpose of the masked-dancer rite when it is not associated with the celebration for the adolescent girl is to ward off epidemic and evil or to cure illness that has been contracted. When it is so used, its performance is a most serious matter. However, these same masked dancers have become one of the standard sources of entertainment of the girl's puberty rite. Early each evening they appear, and, while they may bless the camp initially, drive away evil, or even perform some cures privately on request, their main function is to engage in several spectacular dances for the noisy approval of the onlookers.

The girl's relatives must secure the co-operation of a masked-dancer shaman:

A month or more before the ceremony the ones who are giving the feast start thinking about the man they are going to get to paint the masked dancers. They say, "Let's ask the old man."

One of them goes to the old man and says, "I'm giving a feast and want you to work for us. I don't want you to refuse." If the old man promises, it is all settled. The relatives of the girl will begin talking to him, perhaps it will be her uncles or aunts.

I've seen it done this way, too. Suppose there are a lot of camps together. A man whose girl is going to have her ceremony would come out and say, "All you people, listen! I'm going to give a feast for all you people. I need your help. I want all you men who know the ceremony of the masked dancers and you men

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881 who know songs to help. I'm paying for your good time. I'm having plenty to
756 eat for all of you. I'm a poor man, but still I'm doing this. Let's all help and
535 have a good time."
574 Then anyone who knew the ceremony of the masked dancers and felt like it could paint dancers for him. Afterward he might ask more definitely to be sure he'd have somebody. He would go to a man and say, "You know the ceremony of the masked dancers; you help me this time."

If no one comes up to my father to ask him to do it, he won't do it. I have seen him just let it go. He can see more at the feast grounds, have his meals like anyone else, and have a better time than he can spending his time at his camp painting dancers. I think that many times it looks as though the old man doesn't want to do it. But these feast-makers ask in such a way that he can't refuse. Sometimes he goes away, and when he comes back there is someone waiting for him, begging him to help.

When they asked him to do it, my father used to complain. He said, "Those people ask me to paint masked dancers. But they don't help me out with the equipment. They don't know how much work it is doing this for four days. It's tiring. They don't help as they should." Then the people who were giving the feast had to scurry around and get equipment if my father was short of things. They sometimes had to ask other people for buckskin and things that were needed.

There was S. He said to my father, "I want you to help me out; paint those masked dancers for me." His girl was going to be White Painted Woman [that is, was going to have the puberty rite performed for her]. Then my father said, "All right, but you must do your part. You must feed my dancers. It is hard work. You must feed them in the morning, at noon, and at night." S. said he would do it.

So my father went out. He tried to get the right men to dance for him. He came to me. I didn't want to do it. He asked another man, a good dancer, and he said "No" this time. Then the feast people had to help out. My father went back to them and said, "I'm willing to help, but I can't get enough good dancers." He referred the whole thing back to them.

Then they came to me and pleaded with me. "We'll give you a whole side of the ribs and your wife can get all the food she wants down at the place where we are cooking for the crowd." And they offered me something else valuable, too.

Some of them come up in a pitiful way and say, "I'm a poor fellow. This feast is for everybody. You can dance better than anyone else." So you have to sympathize with them sometimes. If they just have to have you and it looks as though you are not going to do it, they call you "brother" even though you're no relation to them. They say, "Don't refuse!"

The relatives have been watching those painters of masked dancers. They notice who makes good designs and turns out the best dancers. The dancing is just to make the celebration lively though. The masked dancers do not affect the health of the girl by their dancing.

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881 793 533 [534] [237] [317] [824]

The singer will need eagle feathers, a deer- or elk-hoof rattle, and a supply of pollen, white clay, red ocher, and specular iron ore. Required for the ceremony also are a basket tray, usually made from the black outer covering of the unicorn plant; skins on which the girl will kneel or lie during certain parts of the ceremony; and other ritual objects. If the singer or attendant does not have these at hand, the girl's parents must make or procure them.

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The origin of the rite.—White Painted Woman is usually credited with the establishment of the puberty rite. Often associated with her in this undertaking is her son.

It was not until Child of the Water was rid of all the monsters and evil things, until there were many people and the different tribes began to be seen, that the big tepee [girl's puberty rite] was known.

There was a woman who had a daughter who was almost grown. It was time for her to have her first flow. Then Child of the Water and White Painted Woman showed them what to do; this good time was given to the people.

They gave a little feast this first day when she menstruated. Then, after this first day, the relatives of this girl went out and hunted and got everything together so that they could give a big feast. They did this in the fall when there was plenty of fruit and many good things of all kinds. They got a man to sing for her in the tepee. The best masked dancers were got ready. They made them, not in camp, but way off in the mountains and led them in. The spruce trees were cut down for the tepee.

Then, when all was ready, they let many know, and they came from far places. All were invited. The celebration was held for four days. The people had a good time at the dancing. First came the masked dancers. Child of the Water and White Painted Woman gave the people the round dance to enjoy, but this was not to begin until after the performance of the masked dancers was over. After that came the partner dances.

The last two nights the masked dancers remained on the grounds until all the dancing was over. Even the masked dancers took part in the social dancing with their masks pulled to the top of their heads. And the clown was there. The clown, too, danced with women who wished to dance with him. He carried his headdress.

Important incidents of the rite and their respective order are foreshadowed in this narrative. In another account major honors for the establishment of this ritual practice go to White Painted Woman:

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[88] [776] [539] White Painted Woman said, "From here on we will have the girl's puberty rite. When the girls first menstruate, you shall have a feast. There shall be songs for these girls. During this feast the masked dancers shall dance in front. After that there shall be round dancing and face-to-face dancing."

Other information, however, emphasizes the importance of the culture hero for this ceremony. "They do this ceremony according to the way Child of the Water directed them," said one spokesman; and another asserted that the culture hero "is the founder of this whole thing."

The pubescent girl herself is identified with White Painted Woman. During the four days and nights of the rite and for four days thereafter the girl must be addressed and referred to only as White Painted Woman. Her dress and decoration are meant to duplicate the costume which the benefactress of the tribe wore during her stay on earth. The very name, White Painted Woman, is symbolic of the body paint with which its first bearer was [302] designed. At one point in the ritual the initiate is painted with [386] white clay so that the promise of her name may be actualized. Throughout the songs and the prayers the girl is likened to her divine namesake; the structure that has been erected is described as "the home of White Painted Woman"; and, as an informant has put it, "the young girl is the image of the real one." [882] This may explain the control over the weather and the curative [789] functions of the adolescent at this period.

[755] *The "little" rite.*—The physiological fact of first menstruation [881] is cause for great rejoicing on the part of the family of the girl and [574] is so important that reference is made to it by a different term [192] from the one which means "regular monthly flow." Even though all is not in readiness for the prolonged ritual and celebration, the family and close neighbors gather for a feast and token ceremony, to be followed at a later date by the complete round of ritual.

They had a little ceremony for E. It was held at her parents' place. Quite a few people came down. There was a feast and social dancing. The girl was called White Painted Woman for the day of the little ceremony. The ceremony for the girl, who is about fourteen years old, came about noon. She was dressed in an uncolored buckskin costume without much design on it. I don't think it is finished yet. Mrs. S. acted as "she who trots them off" [the attendant] for her. W. sang.

[793]

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About noon Mrs. S. came out, bringing a buckskin. A little later the girl came out. She came directly to the buckskin, and Mrs. S. put her down and rubbed her. Then Mrs. S. made four tracks with pollen on the buckskin. W. sang and led her through the four steps, one song for each step. Then the basket with the bag of pollen and an eagle feather in it was put to the east. She ran around it clockwise and returned to her place. She did this four times. Each time the basket was brought nearer. As she came in the last time, tobacco, fruits, and other presents were thrown into the air just as soon as she got back on the buckskin. [431]

Then she marked W. with pollen, marked him across the nose. He marked her the same way. Next she marked the women and children and they marked her. She marked them across the bridge of the nose also. Then the men came. She marked them on the side of the face. After that she picked up the buckskin and shook it to the directions, beginning with the east. Then more presents were given out. [431]

The procedure just described is a much-reduced version of the full rite. The order of events is altered to compress the activities of many days into the hours of one morning, but the incidents enumerated offer a good inventory of the significant elements. 881

Final preparation and the beginning of the rite.—The ceremony is usually held outside the permanent encampments at a level spot in a clearing selected by the family sponsoring the event. Some days before the exercises are to start (often four days for ceremonial emphasis) the girl's family repairs to the grounds to get everything in readiness. [801]

One of the first acts is to erect the "cook shack," a long, rectangular, leafy shelter to the south of the place where the principal ceremonial structure will stand. [343]

Meanwhile news of the approaching ritual has spread. Members of the local group to which the girl's family belongs and visitors from near-by local groups of the same band gather. If the ceremony is well advertised and the site is near the dividing-line between bands, persons from these neighboring bands may attend. This is a ceremony at which all members of the tribe feel welcome: 881 574 621 619

All the Indians enjoy the feast—poor and rich, the able-bodied and the lame and blind. This feast has been handed down for many, many years. . . . . All the singing is supposed to work out the future life for the girl in order . . . . that she have long life. The songs bring good luck. The ceremony works good luck for everyone that takes part in it and good luck for the old people during the time of the ceremony, also good luck for the spectators. They sing and pray for all. [777]

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[88] The visitors build temporary camps to the south, west, and [574] north of the space reserved for the ceremonial tepee. A long lane [346] to the east must be left unobstructed.

[361] At the beginning of the ceremony, custody of the girl will pass into the hands of the attendant and the singer. But before this [867] the girl is reminded by her parents of the seriousness of her role and is advised to be obedient and cheerful. However, these ideals are not always attained.

> Some of the girls are bashful. They have a time with them! They had a time with them in the old days too; I've heard stories about it. Some girls had to be whipped before they'd go through with it. Some of them got scolded before everyone. . . . They talk to her, tell her to be good, but the girl gets mean sometimes.

The exact manner of deciding when the ceremony shall begin is subject to some variation. According to one account, the proper starting-point should fall four days after the onset of menstruation. Most informants agree that the rite may begin "when everything is ready." Some see a tendency for the group in charge to set the time for fall, "when food is plentiful," although theoretically the ceremony may occur any time of the year.

[515] Before sunrise of the first day the girl washes her hair in yucca- [388] root suds. Then she presents herself before the attendant, either [824] at a special shelter erected for her care or at the home of the older [88] woman.

[793] The attendant first puts pollen on the girl's head and face and across the [346] bridge of her nose before anything starts the first morning. Then the woman [788] prays over her that she may advance to good womanhood. From then on her womanhood begins. No man is allowed to go in there at this time.

Then the woman arranges the girl's hair and dresses her, beginning with the right moccasin, then the left, and continuing up to the head. She ties two eagle feathers at the back of the girl's head. The girl always faces the sunrise while [782] this is being done. The woman prays for the girl while she is dressing her, and [533] some even sing if they have songs and the girl wants them sung. The men do not say much about this dressing. This is the woman's part, and men are not supposed to say much about it. When the girl is all dressed, it is all right for a man to see her. After the dressing you have to call the girl "White Painted Woman."

[262] The girl must not eat anything up to now. Then, the first day, when the girl [788]

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is dressed but before she has eaten anything, the woman gives her yucca fruit with a cross of pollen on it. She first holds it to the directions, motions three times toward the girl with it, and puts it in her mouth the fourth time. This is to give her a good appetite; if she is fed with Indian fruits and piñon nuts and all the good things at this time, the girl will have a good appetite throughout life.

The attendant now advises the girl:

881 793 [271] [413]

She tells her how to drink water through the tube [of carrizo, suspended from the fringe of the dress on the right side], how to scratch herself with the stick [from a fruit- or nut-bearing tree; the scratcher hangs on the left side of the dress]. She tells the girl that she must not scratch herself with her nails, because, if she does, it will leave scars, and that she must not touch water with her lips but must use the tube for eight days or it will rain.

She tells the girl not to eat too much, because she must stay in the tepee most of the time, and she shouldn't go out in the brush much.

She tells the girl that she mustn't go around except where she is told she can go, that she should stay in the tepee most of the time for the four days of the ceremony and then for four days afterward, until she takes these clothes off.

The woman tells the girl not to talk much during this time and not to laugh, because her face will be old and wrinkled before her time if she does. And she tells the girl that for the ceremony and for four days after it she should not wash. She has pollen on, and if she should put her hand in water and wash it off, it would rain like anything. She tells the girl that if it rains and she goes out in it, that will make it rain harder. If the girl gets wet, it will be rainy and spoil the good time of the people. She must not even go to a spring or look up at the sky, for the rain clouds would gather if she did.[1] [821]

[868] [867]

And these old women talk to the girl about cooking and women's work too. They tell her to think what it means and to believe what the singer tells her, for, if she does not believe, it will not do her any good. And the girl is told to mind and not to make fun of anyone. She is told that she must not get angry or curse anyone till the ceremony is all over for her, till the eight days are over. For the Chiricahua believe that the disposition a girl shows at the time of the ceremony will be hers all through life. If she gets angry, she is going to be mean the rest of her life. They say, too, that if a girl doesn't mind at this time, bad weather comes. If she is pleasant and goes through the ceremony well, she will always be that way.

881 793 828

And it seems to me that it turns out this way. There's my wife. She went through the ceremony very well, obeyed, and was good. You take C.; she was mean and balky when she was going around that basket. Today she's very mean. My wife went through first, a year or so ahead of C. Then C. went

[1] One informant stated that the singer may not wash his hair during the rite, presumably to prevent rainfall. [533] [302]

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PLATE III

ERECTING THE CEREMONIAL STRUCTURE

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Chiricahua

881 793 828 through and wouldn't do anything. And now she's cross, has a bad mouth and a high temper. But she's a good-looking woman all right!

And if the girls are not of good disposition and balk, it harms not only themselves but causes it to rain and spoils the good time of all the people. That's what happened at the last ceremony, and that's why part of the dancing was spoiled. So we try to keep the girls in good humor and coax them.

After eating and listening to the old woman, the girl is ready and comes out. From here on all the people see what happens.

881 793 In spite of general similarities, the rituals of various attendants differ in detail. The prayers show minor divergences. One attendant feeds the girl throughout the four days of the rite; another asks the singer to do this. Some attendants sing for the girl, though most of them only pray. One attendant washes the girl's hair the first morning instead of having the initiate do it.

881 793 533 346 [602] *The erection of the ceremonial structure.*—While the attendant is dressing the girl, the singer directs the building of the tepee-shaped ceremonial structure. Male relatives of the adolescent bring to the grounds four freshly cut young spruce trees, thirty to thirty-five feet long, from which all but the topmost boughs have been trimmed, and some oak boughs and yucca leaves.

At sunrise the singer requests the girl's male relatives and some of the visitors to arrange and erect the main poles. The trees are laid on the ground in clockwise order with butts equidistant from a central point and tips extending outward. The first to be arranged is the east pole. A second pole is laid with tip pointing to the south, a third lies to the west, and a fourth to the north. At the base of each pole a hole is dug. The singer sprinkles pollen on the poles from butt to tip. [788] Then near the leafy tip of each, in clockwise order, he ties a spray of sage and some snakeweed. To the east pole a bunch of grama grass may also be tied, [789] and at its top two eagle feathers are so attached that they will blow freely. This is to guarantee that "nothing is to happen while the tepee is up, that no poles shall fall." To this same pole a long rawhide rope is affixed.

After a prayer has been said, [787] knots of men lift the poles, sliding the butt ends into the holes prepared for them. As the poles

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are held erect, an assistant shakes an animal-hoof rattle,[2] and the singer begins his first chant. These opening songs are known as "dwelling songs." The first song "is about all the four poles. It is about the black horse, the stallion, the four horses, because in this ceremony a horse is given on the last day." Much of the vocalization is meaningless refrain, for the substance of ritual songs and prayers is largely implicit. But the prayer portion can be translated:

Killer of Enemies[3] and White Painted Woman have made them so,
They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
For long life stands the blue stallion.

Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
For long life stands the yellow stallion.

Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
For long life stands the black stallion.

Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
For long life stands the white stallion.

From the structure to the south, where she is caring for her charge, the attendant cries out in reverent applause when the names of the supernaturals are mentioned. Throughout the rite, whenever reference is made in the songs to Killer of Enemies,

[2] From one informant, a Southern Chiricahua man, comes an assertion that a gourd rattle may be used in the girl's puberty rite in substitution for an animal-hoof rattle. He said: "A gourd rattle as well as the deer-hoof rattle can be used when the ceremonial tepee is being put up. This is the only time it is used; just the tepee singer has it. There are four small holes on each side of it. That is what makes the sound perfect. It has no design." All other informants state that only the animal-hoof rattle, made of four or more hoofs, usually tied to a length of wood, is used.

[3] For most of the Apache people of the Southwest, Killer of Enemies is the culture hero, and Child of the Water is a subordinate brother or companion. The Chiricahua have reversed the positions of these two; indeed, some Chiricahua have eliminated Killer of Enemies altogether and claim that the name is a synonym for Child of the Water. The older heritage persists, however, in the songs of the girl's puberty rite, which mention only Killer of Enemies. The Chiricahua simply accept these references as concerned with Child of the Water.

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881 993 198 White Painted Woman, Sun, or turquoise, she will utter this call.[4]

881 346 533 [539] During a second "dwelling song" the poles are lowered until their tips meet:

> The home of the long-life dwelling ceremony
> Is the home of White Painted Woman,
> Of long life the home of White Painted Woman is made,
> For Killer of Enemies has made it so,
> Killer of Enemies has made it so.

881 346 574 Quickly, when the tops of the four poles meet, the rope hanging from the east pole is wound around the others, and the framework is secure. Now the women come from the community kitchen, bearing receptacles filled with mesquite beans, boiled meat, mescal, yucca fruit, and other food. They set these in an [788] [823] east-west line before the entrance, and, after pollen crosses have been sprinkled over the top of each by the singer, everyone [261] gathers to eat. The conspicuous display of food is symbolic of plenty and of the favor of the supernaturals: "Child of the Water told the Apache to carry food into the ceremonial dwelling, to grab at it, play with it, and eat it. That's why we do it; it is his command."

881 346 [533] After the meal the ceremonial structure is quickly finished. The central fire pit is dug to the accompaniment of more songs. The oak boughs are tied horizontally to the poles, but an opening is left to the east. Women bring to the entrance spruce needles for the floor, and these are arranged by the singer and his helpers. The ceremonial home of White Painted Woman is now ready.[5]

[4] While it is the primary responsibility of the attendant to call thus, other women may join her: "Women, when White Painted Woman, turquoise, or sacred things are mentioned, have the right to make that call. This is true of any ceremony, not just the puberty ceremony. Also they can give that cry when the masked dancers approach, when they just begin to trot in from the east and the jingle of their pendants is heard. Any mature woman can do it, but old women do it mostly. They do it because of the religious feeling they have toward the Mountain People."

[1811] [5] The Mescalero Apache, with whom the Chiricahua now share a reservation, use four main poles of spruce and eight others — twelve in all — for the ceremonial structure. They also build the tepee with a runway of eight smaller spruces, four on either side, stretching eastward from the doorway. The Mescalero and Chiri-

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PLATE IV

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United States National Museum

GIRL DRESSED FOR PUBERTY RITE

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Chiricahua

881 793 [788] [415] [824]

The conclusion of the events of the first day.—The attendant now comes forward, followed by the girl. Both are marked with pollen across the face and on top of the head. At the southeast of the structure the woman lays the skin of a four-year-old black-tailed deer. On this the girl kneels. Before her the attendant places a coiled basket tray, made of the unicorn plant, filled with bags of pollen and with ritual objects.

881 793 788 302 [823] [779]

The attendant is the first to come before the girl. She offers pollen to the directions and then paints the girl with it, marking her from cheek to cheek across the bridge of the nose and along the part of the hair. The girl marks her in the same way. A line of persons forms to the south and files past the girl to paint her with pollen and to be painted in turn. "We motion to the directions and then put pollen on her face. She does it to us. If she is a good girl, we'll have good luck then." Mothers bring forward their children to be blessed, painting the girl for them but allowing them to receive pollen from her.

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Definite curative powers are attributed to the girl:

Painting the girl and being painted by her are thought to cure sickness. Some years ago there was a girl who was deformed pretty badly. Her buttocks stuck out in back, and her chest forward. She went through the line with the others. Then the old woman, the girl's attendant, massaged her. A little while later she began to straighten up and finally got entirely well.

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cahua act together now to hold the puberty rite. Most Chiricahua informants claim that their tribe used a four-pole tepee without runway. But a number of spokesmen have mentioned either the twelve-pole structure, the runway, or both, as aboriginal Chiricahua features.

In a tale told by an Eastern Chiricahua mention is made of a "big tepee" for which the "poles were of spruce and there was a runway of trees on either side."

Another Eastern Chiricahua said: "We used the tepee for the girl's puberty ceremony and had the same number of poles as are used here. I never saw one with four poles only among my people. There were four main poles."

A Southern Chiricahua claims the twelve-pole tepee for his people, but rejects the runway: "These Chiricahua never used the tepee except at the time of the girl's ceremony. Then they would put up four poles. Then they had eight more to make twelve, just as is done here at Mescalero. They didn't have the runway of small trees to the east. I never saw a Chiricahua have this before coming here."

Yet a four-pole ceremonial structure is specifically mentioned by other informants of these same bands. We may suspect, therefore, that there was a great deal of local variation among the Chiricahua in respect to these details.

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881 When no more come forward, the attendant places the girl face
793 downward on the buckskin with her head to the east and "molds"
856 her, working from her head to her feet and from the right side to the left:

The girl is rubbed so that she will have a good disposition and be good. The old women who do it have that as special work. The woman attendant is praying as she does this. She is saying, "May this girl be good in disposition, good in morals. May she grow up, live long, and be a fine woman." The molding also makes the girl straight and supple.

The girls are massaged to give them good health and strength and to straighten out their lives and make them long. . . . .

881 The girl rises, and on the buckskin the attendant outlines four
793 footprints in pollen. Through these the girl walks toward the
788 east, right foot first, "so she will walk on a trail of pollen, so that her way will be fortunate and healthy." The pollen is from trees that bear fruit and nuts.

881 Next the basket tray, containing bags of pollen and ocher, a
793 deer- or elk-hoof rattle, a bundle of grama grass, an eagle feather, and other ritual objects, is placed about thirty paces to the east. When all is ready the attendant "pushes her out to run," and the girl trots clockwise around the basket and back that "she may
[198] live long." As she runs, the attendant again utters the call.

Old men and young boys run after the girls when they go around the basket.
[782] They pray as they run. Sometimes the very old men do it. They pray to White Painted Woman. These old men ask for strength, for long life. The young ones ask for long life or anything good. Any way they want to pray is all right. I ran like that when I was a boy. I asked for long life and good health. The older people told me what to do and what to pray for. They say you get long winded when you do this.

881 At the end of the first run the basket is brought nearer the ceremonial structure. Three more times the girl runs, and before each run the basket is brought westward. When the girl reaches
[823] the buckskin after the last run, she picks it up and shakes it to
[751] each direction in clockwise order, beginning with the south, "to send to the directions all sickness and disease that might harm her."

During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family

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MATURATION

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During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family have brought baskets of fruit and nuts to the rear of the hide upon which she has stood. They throw these presents upon the hide, and a scramble ensues. Thus the cycle which began when the pollen footprints were drawn has been completed symbolically; the fruits have followed the pollen and the season of growth. In the good-natured din and confusion the girl and her attendant retire. The girl has custody of the singer's rattle until evening. It is noon before this opening ritual is concluded, and more food is now distributed.

The afternoon is devoted to social activities—dancing in the open space to the east of the ceremonial structure, singing, racing, and visiting. Men gather at the hoop-and-pole ground, while the women play the stave game. The girl's parents move about among their guests, and grateful visitors seek them out to comment upon their hospitality and "to say they are thankful that this daughter has grown up to have the ceremony." "The feast-givers are shown respect, and all obey them. Nobody ever breaks this rule."

Ordinarily, the girl's ritual obligations are over until evening, but she may be requested to treat the very young during the day:

The Chiricahua believe that it is good luck for a child or a baby if a girl who is White Painted Woman lifts it up. At any time during the ceremony the girl can take a very young child, pick it up under the arms, and hold it to the directions. This is done to give the child long life and good luck.

She also helps the infirm:

If your arm is crooked, go to the girl at the time of the ceremony. She can work it and make it straight. She picks up children by the neck too. It is good for them. They tell me to let one of the girls work on me. [This man has a crippled arm.] I go there, but there are lots of people in there, and I back out every time.

In the late afternoon of the first day the adolescent girl or the singer, using a fire drill, lights a fire in the ceremonial structure. This fire is to be kept alive during the course of the ritual or, at least, during the nights. Sometime in the afternoon a great pile of firewood is stacked to the north side of the ceremonial structure. This will be used for the fire around which the masked dancers will perform.

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881 535 *The masked dancers.*—As the sun starts to go down, the painting and the dressing of the masked dancers begin. The men who have agreed to dance make their way to a brush shelter erected quite a distance from the ceremonial grounds, for it would be dangerous to the people, and especially to the women and children, to have them "made" in the vicinity of the camps. Since the dancers are impersonating mountain-dwelling supernaturals, a place in the foothills surrounding the level dance ground is most likely to be chosen. There the masked-dancer shaman waits with dancing costumes and paints. The shaman rarely paints the dancers but directs his helpers and prays and sings, accompanying himself with a buckskin-covered pottery drum. Upon this he draws figures, such as that of the sun, in pollen "to keep his voice from becoming hoarse."

[796] [754] [534] [531] [789] [826]

The shaman may have some difficulty in assembling a dance group, for the supernatural impersonator must obey irksome restrictions:

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> You shouldn't wash the paint off. It sweats off while you are dancing and when you put your shirt on. It is just clay and charcoal. Perhaps the second night there will be just a faint mark left from the paint of the night before. When the next paint goes on fresh, you can't tell that there was any paint on there before. If you do have to get some off, you rub it but do not wash it off, for if you wash, it will cause a big rain to come.

[821]

535 784 753 Mistakes during the dance are most dangerous:

> Not many men want to dance; it can cause evil influence. They fear to get into this costume just as they fear a coyote. If the dancer makes a mistake and doesn't do things according to the ceremony, he will get sick. It is dangerous for one dancer to touch another who has been made by a different shaman. The power of one masked-dancer maker may be stronger than that of the other and cause some disaster to a dancer. It sometimes causes a spasm [paralysis] in the mouth, or trouble with the ear or eye, or a swollen face. Then the only way is to go through a ceremony and have the masked dancers blow the sickness away.

[756]

The dancer must be quite as particular about other points. If he should place the mask over his head without the proper ritual gestures, he is likely to go mad. He must show proper reverence as well:

> One time I was dancing for D. Three of us were dancing—S., T., and I. It was S.'s first time. He was speaking in English, cursing while they were painting him. You know he is just like a mocking bird; he doesn't respect anything.

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Sometimes, before the masked dancers go out to the fire, people come for help to the place where they are being painted. They come of their own accord. I never liked to work at this, but I couldn't say "No." When you're all dressed up and someone comes, and the old man tells you to help them, you have to do it. You can't say "No." It wouldn't be right. 535 755

The general rule is, according to the way some shamans do it, that the leading dancer blows the disease away. I've done it myself. The others dance behind the leader as he approaches the sick one from the directions, but they don't touch the sick person. It seems that the shamans feel it will be better and quicker if the leader does it instead of all the dancers. Some dancers are beginners. They might mix things up. But some shamans require all the masked dancers to work on the sick one and blow the disease away. This takes longer. 535 755 756

It takes about fifteen or twenty minutes for one man to go through it. While we are dancing, the shaman smokes, prays, and sings. He makes a regular little ceremony. If the patient does not get better that night, he comes back the next night.

Not all the curing occurs at the place of preparation. Sometimes arrangements are made by sick persons or their relatives for the services of the masked dancers at one of the camps below.[19] 535 755

If we were down by the fire and someone was sick, we'd cure him with this song [a masked-dancer song used for curing or for the painting of the dancers] off to the side of the grounds.

First the sick person or a relative would have to request the ceremony from the leader of the masked dancers. He has to throw pollen to the directions, put pollen over the masked dancer's right foot, and come up and around his body to the left foot with it. If it is a woman who is sick, she puts a piece of abalone on his foot. It is tied to a string and has an eagle feather with it. A man puts a piece of turquoise with an eagle feather there. The shaman doesn't take this and keep it; the masked-dancer leader keeps it. I had a whole bunch of them. Some other shamans, like T., take it themselves. But that was not the way of the one for whom I danced. [788] [756]

This stone and feather can be used back. If I sympathize with someone who is sick, I give it to him, providing he uses it to ask the man for whom I dance. I give it to him and tell him how to use it.

When all the ceremonies for which requests have been made are concluded, the masked dancers make their way to the dance 881 535

[19] In the summer of 1931, at a girl's puberty rite, I witnessed such a ceremony performed over a youth who was becoming increasingly deaf. The rite took place at the edge of the dance clearing, just to the south of the central fire, before the impersonators began to dance for the people. [114]

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881 535 arena. Sounding their call, they burst into the open space from the east at a trot and circle the fire. They are greeted by the cry of the women and the prayers of the devout.

> .... They would come down at night carrying a big light..... When they first came down the hill, even if the camp were a large one, they used to go around to each home and not miss a single one. Just as soon as the people saw them coming they began to pray..... "Men of the Mountain,"[11] they would say, "I wish you would protect me. If anything comes to hurt me, stand in front of me and help me."

881 535 372 First the dance group "worships the fire" from the directions:

> This is what the old man told me when I was the leader of his dancers. "The first time you come in and go to the fire, go around it four times. Then approach it from the east. When you get within about eight paces of the fire, just when the light begins to shine on you, sound the masked-dancer call. Then go around the fire once. Stop at the south, go toward the fire, sway and make the call in the same way. Do the same from the west and the north. Next come back where you started from, the east, and worship the fire again from there."

881 535 [346] Sometimes the ceremonial structure is circled and "blessed," each pole being approached in clockwise rotation by the single file of dancers and clasped by the leader. Then the dancers trot off to the east and vanish in the darkness. On their way through the camps they may dance back and forth before a dwelling where there has been sickness or trouble. The entire encampment may be circled, and sickness frightened away by gesticulation and blowing. [755]

881 535 784 With the arrival of the dancers, the restrictions applicable to the onlookers come into force. No one may address or call the name of an impersonator whom he recognizes; no one may point, with hand or lips, to a masked dancer; nor may anyone touch a dancer when he is in costume. "If you don't worship them in the right way, you should be frightened." However, neither men nor women confuse the impersonators with the actual Mountain Spirits. "The dancers do not turn into the real Mountain Spirits while they are dancing. They stay men but just get more strength." The restrictions are obeyed, not from fear of the [796]

[11] A term for Mountain Spirits indicating greatest respect and used when supplicating these supernaturals or when there is reason to fear them.

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881 535 [784] [753] [776]

power of those dancing, but because "the real Mountain Spirits could bring on sickness or death if these things were violated."

The added strength of the masked dancers is attributed to the costumes they wear:

The costume gives the dancer strength. He doesn't get tired. There are no holes near the nose for breathing in the masks. The man wearing the mask is fighting for breath. When he gets tired, he runs his sticks around his body and then flourishes them in the air, and in this way he rids himself of his tiredness. If it was not for this, he couldn't last through one song. [828]

When the masked dancers return, a knot of men assembled just northeast of the entrance of the ceremonial structure is ready to beat out the measure of the songs with stout sticks on a thick piece of rawhide. Others hold buckskin-covered pottery drums which they will strike with curved drumsticks. [534]

From the east the masked dancers spring into the glare of the firelight and move swiftly around the fire:

When the leader of the masked dancers throws his arms wide, this means to the singers that they are to begin. The men at the rawhide know that this is the signal. If they don't start to sing, the dancers go past them, then turn toward them and repeat the gesture. If they don't start then, the dancers can leave the grounds if they want to. Many times I have done that. I figured, "Well, I'm not going to let them just watch me! It's no use to run around here without any song." Sometimes, as you come toward the rawhide after blessing the fire, they start right in. Then, as you go past, you cry, "Hoo-hoo-hoo!" which is just like saying, "That's fine! That's what we want!" The masked dancers can't talk but they make that sound. It means, "Go ahead and sing." I was told to make the masked-dancer call when turquoise, abalone, cloud, Mountain Spirit, White Painted Woman, and other holy things and people were mentioned in the songs. [198]

The songs to which the dancers perform at the feast grounds are not the same as those to which they were painted but are associated with definite dance steps. The shaman may know and use both kinds of songs, but just as often another person will lead the singing during the evening. The relatives of the adolescent girl have to make sure that some qualified person will be present to perform this function. 535 533 881

I am an official singer for masked dancers. The parents of the girl will ask me to sing at their feast. They pay me. I will be singing for one family. I learned these songs. I sat in and gained experience. No one else would sing my songs. It's not done.

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It is the privilege of the singer to begin the song and to recite alone the prayer or half-spoken, half-chanted portion interspersed between the nonsense-syllable refrains. At the refrain the other members of the chorus join in heartily again, and so these songs give the impression of great bursts of melody, suddenly hushed and as suddenly resumed and swelled. When a singer of these songs grows tired or feels that he should make way for another, he relinquishes his post and joins the chorus, while his successor contributes other songs. The songs of any individual are well known to those of his region, so that it is always possible to bring together a chorus.

The songs are classified in three groups, each related to one of three types of dance: the "free step," the "short step," and the "high step." The dancers, and especially the leader, must be able to recognize a song at once and enter upon the proper step.

The performance always begins with a free-step song, so called because it imposes less formal restrictions upon the actions of the dancers and allows more exhibition of individuality than either of the other two. When he hears this music, "a man uses his own judgment and dances according to his feelings." The best performers contest in the firelight for the rolling, throaty call of approval of the audience.

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The prayers of the free-step songs are similar in theme to those of the songs sung when the dancers are painted:

I

At the place called "Home in the Center of the Sky,"
Inside is the home's holiness.
The door to the home is of white clouds.
There all the Gray Mountain Spirits
Rejoicing over me
Kneel in the four directions with me.

II

When first my power was created,
Pollen's body, speaking my words,
Brought my power into being,
So I have come here.

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After the first, free-step, masked-dancer song, "they switch around, singing the songs of the different steps so that the masked dancers don't get tired." A second type of song is that which accompanies the short step. The words of these songs are much like those of the free-step songs, but the rhythm and mode of execution of the step are different. The dance is marked by bodily rigidity, studied posturing, and short, terse steps. 535 533 881

The third kind of song is that to which the dancers perform the high step. The prayers of these songs reveal nothing new. But the dance step itself departs widely from the others. As soon as the dancers recognize the character of the song, they form a circle around the fire, facing away from it, and dance with vehemence, throwing first one leg and then the other forward and upward. The dance is much like the Russian *trepak* except that the performers do not squat so low during its execution. Although this dance is the most spectacular of the three and is constantly requested by the audience, it is so difficult that it is performed much less often than the other two. 535 881 [533]

Despite the excitement and the rivalry the potential dangers for the participants are never forgotten. If two dancers collide, especially if they have been painted by different shamans, and one drops a stick, he dare not pick it up at once. He will stagger around as if dazed until his companions, lining up in single file, "worship" the wand from the directions and the leader picks it up and returns it to him. [788]

Inside the ceremonial structure.—While the exhibition of the masked dancers is at its height, another phase of the rite, more closely associated with the fate of the pubescent girl, is quietly unfolding. 881 533 793

Sometime during the early part of the night the singer makes his way to the place where the girl and her attendant await him. The girl hands him the rattle that was intrusted to her. He extends an eagle feather toward her, and she grasps the tip of it with her right hand. He shakes the rattle and walks slowly backward, singing: [539]

They move her by means of the finest eagle feather,
By means of it White Painted Woman walks into her home.

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881 533 793 A singer has described this act: "In the evening when the girl first comes out to dance, I lead her with the eagle feather. There is one song to lead the girl in with. I go a little way and sing it again. The fourth time I go right in and put the girl in the corner."

But before they enter, the attendant, who has followed them carrying an untanned hide, and who has given her call of applause at each of the four stops, hurries to the rear of the structure and spreads out the skin. She is followed by the girl, who [788] skirts the fire clockwise (as must always be done when entering or leaving the ceremonial structure) and sits or kneels on the hide, [516] facing the east. If she sits, her legs are flexed under her to the side. Her trunk is held erect, as it should be as long as she remains in the holy place. The singer squats close to the fire, at the south. Behind him sits the attendant, near the center of the [788] south wall. Relatives of the girl and visitors pass clockwise about the structure and make their way to the west. Some latecomers sit in the doorway.

881 533 793 824 The singer, before going after the girl, has arranged a number of ritual objects. At the main pole of the south he has tied (or stuck into the oak boughs), butt end toward the east, a length of oak wood which is called the "age stick." This, the symbol of long life, stands for the cane his charge will use in her old age. It will serve him as a fire poker and as a support while he sings. On the same pole hangs a fuse of shredded juniper bark tied with yucca strands. This fuse, representative of fire and the hearth, he will use to ignite the ceremonial cigarettes he smokes. On the [413] pole, too, is a grama grass brush which will be used "to brush off evil influences" from the girl and to apply white paint to her.

881 533 793 [788] The singer unfastens these objects and brings them to the fireside. After the ceremony of the first night he will return them to a main pole, this time to the one at the west. In the same way he will continue to move them in sunwise rotation each night until, at the beginning of the fourth and last night, the ceremonial circuit will be completed, and these objects will be found on the east pole.

At the edge of the fire other objects have been arranged. The

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fire pit is flanked at each cardinal point by a flat rock painted red on top. These "stand for" the mescal or century plant, a food staple, and act as a prayer that the girl may find and prepare an abundant supply of mescal in the course of her life. A stone bowl, the mortar for the paints of the ceremony, is set toward the east this first night. This, too, will be moved each night.

The singer rolls a cigarette, lights it with the slow fuse, and smokes and prays. His voice is hardly audible. The attendant, using the same fuse, also offers smoke ceremonially. Then the singer starts to shake the hoof rattle which he holds in his right hand and begins his first song.

The songs of this ceremony are in reality a journey in which the girl is brought to the holy home and from there is conducted symbolically through a long and successful life.

We think of a woman's life as blocked out in parts. One is girlhood, one is young womanhood, one is middle age, and one is old age. The songs are supposed to carry her through them. The first songs describe the holy home and the ceremony. Later come the songs about the flowers and the growing things. These stand for her youth, and as the songs go through the seasons the girl is growing up and reaching old age.

At the conclusion of a song the singer explained:

This song is about flowers. We are taking this girl through a beautiful life. This is the conception of a beautiful life for the Apache. We take the girl through beautiful lands, past flowers, through seasons with their fruits. The translation doesn't mean much, but there is a great deal to it if you think about it.

There is a general tendency to move, as the songs continue, from the more remote and abstract qualities to the growing things of the earth.

The big ceremony starts with songs of the sun, the moon, and such things. Then comes the earth. Then the songs are mostly about the earth and the things that grow on it, about the fruits, the trees, the plants; about even the children. Nothing is left out. . . .

. . . . On the fourth night the songs deal with all the different grasses and carry them through all the different stages of development, from spring to winter. Then by morning we are through.

The songs belong to two general groups, and each kind of song is accompanied by a different dance. Most numerous are the "shuffling-step" songs, and, when these are sung, the girl stands,

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raises her arms upright from the elbows with palms outward, holds her feet close together, and moves from left to right and right to left by alternately pivoting on her toes and her heels. The second type of song calls for an "in-place" step and provides rest from the exertions of the first type. In its performance the girl sways in place with her hands on her hips."

Because of the repetition of its verses, each song is long, and the shuffling step is very tiring. But, whenever the girl is weary, she may stop and kneel, even though the song is not finished. The singer makes no attempt to test or to overtax her.

The singer watches the girl and uses his judgment. The idea is not to let her get too tired. There is the dance the girls do with their arms up. The word for it means "shuffling," sliding to a place as a horse does. They sing about six songs of this kind and then change to the one where the girl dances in place with her hands on her hips. The singer tells the girl which dance to do if she does not know. They sing fewer songs of this second kind. These are just to rest the girl.

Every fourth, sixth, or twelfth song may be set aside for a "smoking song," after which the singer smokes or prays:

After about six songs they have a smoking song. They smoke after this song; all those inside can smoke then. There is no dancing during the smoking song. The girl can rest; she can kneel but cannot sit. She must have her body erect. There are many of the smoking songs. After this they start singing and dancing again.

The initial song of the first night is of the shuffling-step type. "This is the first song sung. It is the home's own song, the first one sung when they are in there." The second song, also of the shuffling-step variety, simply repeats between refrains these words:

I have walked well
Into the home of White Painted Woman.

Now follow songs of the singer's choosing, fixed only in accordance with the general pattern already outlined. No definite number of songs need be sung during the night. One singer remarked:

"An informant described a third step, which he claims was formerly danced by the pubescent girl. "It is called 'walking around.' The girl has her arms up and her elbows pointed down. She walks forward, turns toward the south, and comes back, doing this four times. It's mostly to rest and relax." This step is not performed now.

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"In summer I sing fewer songs because the nights are short. In winter I sing more." After the introductory numbers, the songs are arranged in groups of fours. The songs of each group are called "siblings of the same sex" because, in passing from one to another in a set of four songs, an alteration of a word or two of the prayer may be the only discernible change.

Throughout the dancing the attendant remains in her station at the south. Whenever, in the course of the singing, the names of supernaturals or sacred substances are mentioned, she raises her voice in the call of applause.

The songs of the ceremony are too numerous to reproduce in full, but a few of different types, representative of the first night's repertory, are here given in free translation. First are two shuffling-step dance songs:

I

Killer of Enemies, source of long life,
White Painted Woman has come inside;
She grows up by means of it.

II

The spruce home of White Painted Woman is built of long life,
By means of a home built of this she has gone inside,
By means of her power of goodness White Painted Woman has come to her,
By means of it the words have gone inside.

Of the in-place dance songs the following two examples are offered:

I

I come to White Painted Woman,
By means of long life I come to her.
I come to her by means of her blessing,
I come to her by means of her good fortune,
I come to her by means of all her different fruits;
By means of the long life she bestows, I come to her;
By means of this holy truth she goes about.

II

I am about to sing this song of yours,
The song of long life.
Sun, I stand here on the earth with your song;
Moon, I have come in with your song.

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881 533 276 461 The translation below indicates the character of the third type of song—the smoking song. Often, when the men who are sitting just outside the structure singing and drumming for the masked dancers hear one of these songs, they also pause to smoke.

[539] The time for smoking has come.
With the sun's tobacco let all be made pleasant.
From here on let good constantly follow,
From now on let many old men and old women rejoice;
Let them come back to many ceremonies like this;
Let all the girls be happy;
Let them know many ceremonies like this;
Let all rejoice;
Let all the boys rejoice;
Let them attend many ceremonies like this.

881 535 793 [788] The dancing within the ceremonial structure is brought to an early close the first night. Sometimes the masked dancers are still circling the fire as the singer, the attendant, and the girl file sunwise from the holy home. If this is the case, the girl may be asked to shuffle around the fire in the wake of the masked impersonators before leaving for her camp. Meanwhile the attendant has gathered up the hide, the rattle, and the feather and will keep them until they are needed on the following night.

881 535 574 *The social dancing.*—If the masked dancers have not left before the girl has concluded her dance within the ceremonial structure, they disappear for the night soon afterward. But the evening's activities have scarcely begun for the visitors. Social dancing is closely associated in the popular mind with the ceremony, for this is one of the few occasions which brings together enough people to make it possible. The dances take place every night and must follow an invariable order.

881 533 [535] The songs for the social dances contrast markedly with the sacred music:

With the social dance songs it is different. They don't belong to any one person. Anyone can sing them. Anyone can make up his own, and, if it is a good one and the people like it, he and others will keep singing it. Anyone can join in these songs if he knows them, even in the part with the words. These songs are funny. You can say almost anything in them.

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A dignified old man, when he was working out the details of some music, indicated the great difference between the social dance songs and the ceremonial songs:

I want you to keep these [girl's puberty rite] songs private. I am not a foolish man and do not sing these songs easily. Some of the Indians might not like it. But the social dance songs are all right. I don't care what you do about them.

This is the way two composers of social dance songs went about their task:

Y. and I made up a couple of these songs. We worked them out together. I went over to his place, and we patched them up. First he'd sing a little and then I'd sing a little, and we'd agree on it and work it out. We practiced. Then we sang them at the last girl's puberty rite. All the people liked them. The word part of one goes like this:

[539]

Young woman, young woman,
We've been very intimate,
But now stay away from me.

Another composer sang his own song and some others from which he had drawn his inspiration:

I took some old songs and chose a little from one and a little from another. I used about three and worked one new song out of them. I did it while I was away on a trip. Then I sang this song at the ceremony when I came back. At the last ceremony I sang it for four nights straight. All the people said it was a good song.

But by no means are all these songs recent compositions or modifications. Many old favorites continue to be as popular as ever:

Some of the songs for this are very old. I'll sing one for you. It's very old; perhaps two hundred years old. When I was just a little boy at Fort Apache fifty years ago, just old enough to listen to singing, I heard it. There was one very old man who sat by a fire working on arrows and singing it. And while he sang it he was crying. This song reminded him of the times when he was a young man. That's why I think it is so old. It goes like this:

[539]

Young woman, you are thinking of something,
Young woman, you are thinking of something;
You are thinking of what you are going to get:
That man of whom you are thinking is worthless!

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This comment suggests one of the greatest appeals of the social dance songs—their associations. The occasions when they have been heard and learned are memorable points in the individual career—moments of travel, adventure, and courtship:

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533 211 •881 This is the song to which my wife and I fell in love. It's not much of a song; but I thought a lot of it and so did she. N. was singing it. It is his morning song. I went out with her under the piñon trees and I sang this song to her during the days of the feast. I've had this song for my favorite ever since. It reminds my wife and me of that time.

881 533 [186] The few words of a social dance song are rich in implication. Once an old man dismissed American songs with a contemptuous, "There isn't much singing to them; it's all words!" Doubtless he was thinking of the more subtle technique of his people, by which, with a few well-chosen words and a wealth of inner meaning, a dozen youths can be made to hang their heads.

881 535 533 As soon as the masked dancers have departed for the night, the first of the social dances—the round dance—begins. Several men holding pottery drums come together. Others form a compact knot around them, and this group, their arms around each other's shoulders, circles the fire clockwise. One man, ordinarily one of the drummers, begins a song, and the others join in. Now women step out and stand at the side of the singers, forming a circle. Sometimes the circle incloses the singers. The dancers face the fire and shuffle sideways, clockwise, in time to the music.

In the round-dance songs such words as "Stoop," or "Faster," may be the only words, and the dancers are expected to follow these commands. Others may contain only a short phrase or two, but these few words satirize common foibles and provoke general amusement. In a certain round-dance song one question is simply repeated over and over:

881 533 [539]

What belongs to us?

This seems enigmatic to an outsider, but it is fraught with meaning to the dancers:

This is a round-dance song. "What belongs to us?" Where are our possessions? We haven't got anything. That is what this song means. Many people get married but haven't anything. What is going to be ours when we get married? Suppose I am dancing. I want to marry a girl though I have nothing. Then I'll be ashamed when they sing this, as lots of boys are.

Another of these songs derides the marriage of a young girl to an ill-favored old man:

[539]

She married an old man
With big buttocks!

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PLATE VIII

THE ROUND DANCE (THE CEREMONIAL STRUCTURE IN THE BACKGROUND)

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The domestic intruder receives mention:

He asks me what happened
To his wife!

For the young people who are planning an assignation, a song has this reminder:

Wait for me
At the high bluff over there.

One song has to do with those who have become acquainted at the feast and soon must separate:

You will go back to your distant home;
We will be lonesome.

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At midnight, often at the time when the second social dance of the evening is about to get under way, food is again served. I have called the second dance of the night the "partner" dance:

After the circle dance, the men get in a group by the fire and the women go around and choose partners. A woman pulls at a man's clothes or pokes him if she wants him for a partner. Then he has to dance.

[465]

It's a general rule that the man has to pay the woman something if he dances with her. He pays after the four nights. If you haven't got anything, you tell the woman the first night so she can choose someone else. It is understood that if you dance with a woman you have something for her. It's not that you have to pay if you dance, but it's just too bad if you don't. Everybody talks about you. The girl will tell everyone. She will say, "That man is no good; he didn't pay." All the girls will say this then.

[626]

[584]

The girl dances with the same man for the four nights. It is right then that they fall in love. A girl chooses a boy she likes. I got acquainted with my wife this way. I danced with her. That's what these dances are mostly for.

To execute the partner dance, a man and woman remain in the same line but face in opposite directions. The man's left arm is opposite the woman's left arm, or his right arm is opposite her right arm. The couples, who are scattered here and there, dance forth and back in relation to the fire, about four steps one way and then four the other. Occasionally, two women tap the same man and then he must dance with both and must finally pay both.

[465]

Blood kin and affinal relatives, including husband and wife, may not dance together. "You have to be sure you are not related.

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881 535 [602] lated. Sometimes a man makes a mistake and asks a girl who is his kin to dance with him. She says, 'No, you are related to me.' "

881 535 576 There is a definite etiquette attached to the partner dance:

Some touch or link arms. A very prominent or dignified man would not touch a woman during the dance though. He wouldn't get familiar. A man who dances politely will have his hands locked over his breast. It shows that the man is not bothering the woman. N. [a prominent Chiricahua] always danced with his hands locked over his chest.

An unmarried man may dance with a married woman, or the other way around. It is all right to talk to your partner while you are dancing.

881 533 539 The songs of the partner dance do not differ materially from those of the round dance.

We will go to the last home.

are the only words of one. Its inner meaning is somewhat more complex, however: "The song means that perhaps your camp is the one far from the feast grounds and that after the dance you two are going over there together."

In another song of this type ridicule is heaped on the young man who is enamored of an older woman, the mother of children:

When there is a gathering for the ceremony, sweetheart,
I will take care of your baby for you,
I will take care of your baby for you.

Still another runs as follows:

Oh, Mescalero maiden, don't be afraid;
They are already gossiping about us,
But don't be afraid.
They who speak so chew rocks;[1]
Don't be afraid.

881 533 535 The songs of the third and last social dance of each night of the puberty rite may appropriately be called the morning-dance songs, since the dance they accompany begins several hours before dawn and continues until daybreak.

Toward morning the songs change, and the men and women separate and get in two lines facing each other. The lines are pretty far apart, and the partners of the dance which has just ended are right across from each other. When the sing-

[754] [1] That is, "are envious"; witches are often said to "chew rocks."

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ing starts, the lines come toward each other, stopping a few feet apart, and then separate. They go back and forth like this. The singers are in a line with the men and go back and forth with them. This dancing goes on until sunrise.

The round-dance songs and the partner-dance songs may or may not have words, but the songs of the morning dance always have words. These morning-dance songs are the favorites. "The morning songs, the love songs, sound beautiful. They are high pitched. We like them best of all. People just fall in love there singing them."

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Some of these compositions well earn the name of "love song" which informants have given them:

I

I see that girl again,
Then I become like this;
I see my own sweetheart again,
Then I become like this.

II

Maiden, you talk kindly to me,
You, I shall surely remember it,
I shall surely remember you alone,
Your words are so kind,
You, I shall surely remember it.

A reproachful note is struck in one of these songs:

My sweetheart, we surely could have gone home,
But you were afraid!
When it was night we surely could have gone home,
But you were afraid!

Of the manner of singing the following somewhat acrid song a commentator said:

The song is really sung by the men all the way through. But the men take the part of the women and then of the men. As they dance together, the men take the part first of one and then of the other. When the men are singing the part of the men, they change the word "man" in the song to "woman."

Man from a distant land,
Why do you talk to me?
Why do you talk to me?
Why do you talk to me?
What have you done for me
But just talk to me?

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881 533 Another morning song purports to be a passage between a man and a woman who is endeavoring to hide her age so that she may have a good time:

[539]

They tell me you are old:
I, I don't think so.

Then there are the lines depicting the confusion of two young friends who cannot bring themselves to separate:

[539]

Woman from a far land,
Give me your moccasins that I may be going.
Man from a far land,
Give me your moccasins that I may be going.

At dawn those who have remained up all night disperse for a few hours of rest. There will be no morning ceremony to rouse them, for the puberty rite proper of the second day is not resumed until nightfall.

881 [574] [525] [535] *Events through the fourth night.*—During the morning and afternoon of the second day visiting, feasting, gambling, and sporadic social dancing take place. The girl has no special duties during the day, although she must be mindful of her general restrictions. If she becomes restless, she may be permitted to walk toward the hills or to join in the daytime social dancing for short intervals.

At dusk the events of the preceding evening are repeated without significant variation. The central fire is renewed, the masked dancers appear, the pubescent girl is led to the ceremonial structure, and later in the evening the same social dances, in identical order, are again performed.

In outline the third day and third night differ in no essential way from the second day and night. The activities of the fourth day, moreover, follow closely those of the second and third days.

But the fourth night of the ceremony departs in several important respects from what has gone before. The first events are the familiar ones. At dusk the masked dancers appear and repeat their performance. And, as before, when the masked-dancer display is at its height, the singer leads the girl to the ceremonial

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structure. This time, however, he brings with him a bundle of narrow sticks of mock orange wood. Beginning at the southeast and moving clockwise around the fire pit, he erects one stick for every song he sings this fourth night, until the fire pit is surrounded except for a space to the east that must remain open. After every set of four songs has been sung and the corresponding four sticks have been set up, a fifth, shorter length of wood is placed horizontally on the ground between this set and the one to follow. This horizontal piece represents a smoking song presumably: "When I lay the stick down, there is a song about smoking that goes with it. The song comes first, then I put the stick down, then smoke, then pray, then go on to the next set." For the first three nights the singing and dancing within the structure cease at midnight or before. But this night they continue until daybreak.

The songs of the second, third, and fourth nights to which the girl dances are a continuation of the life-journey pattern. In order to indicate the sweep of this ritual progression, a number of songs, arranged roughly in chronological order in respect to the rite as a whole, are introduced. The first, a shuffling-step song, has to do with the birds:

> White Painted Woman commands that which lies above,
> Killer of Enemies commands,
> By means of long life they command.
> From the mouth of the chief bird
> Yellowness emerges by means of it,
> By means of it yellow emerges from your mouth.

The girl's necklace, symbolic of lifelong wealth, is celebrated in a shuffling-step song:

> The words of Killer of Enemies, good through long life,
> Have entered you;
> They have entered you by means of your necklace;
> Your necklace has gone into your body,
> For its power is good.

Of the next song, which he called "She Sleeps with It," the singer said:

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881 533 539 In this song the girl is taken through the sleeping period, through a rest period. We take her through all experiences with these songs.

White Painted Woman's power emerges,
Her power for sleep.
White Painted Woman carries this girl;
She carries her through long life,
She carries her to good fortune,
She carries her to old age,
She bears her to peaceful sleep.

The growth of the things of the earth is emphasized in many of the songs. This one tells of the grasses:

By means of the ceremony I have gone to White Painted Woman,
I have gone to the source of long life created of goodness.
White Painted Woman, her grasses are striped with yellow,
Killer of Enemies spoke thus;
White Painted Woman, her grasses are much striped with blue,
Killer of Enemies, his grasses are much striped with red.

Periods of life are commemorated:

White Painted Woman has reached middle age by means of it,
She has reached middle age by means of it,
By means of it she has entered long life,
She has reached middle age by means of it.

The last years of life are referred to symbolically in song in terms of the "old age staff":

He made the black staff of old age for me,
He made the road of the sun for me;
These holy things he has made for me, saying,
"With these you will grow old."
Now when I have become old,
You will remember me by means of them.

881 If this selection is allowed to represent the song cycle as it unfolds through the four nights, the events which take place in the interior of the ceremonial structure until sunrise of the fifth day have been indicated.

881 535 On the fourth night the masked dancers have an additional and interesting role:

On the last night the masked dancers come out and stay all night. They do their own dances until ten or eleven o'clock. Then comes the round dance. They

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save about four good masked dancers, keep them fresh. These go around for about an hour and chase all the people out to dance. They even chase them from their camps and get them out of bed. They bring out the girls and make them dance. The masked dancers do not push the people toward the dance grounds with their hands. They just make the noise and motion with their sticks. They get a girl and give their cry and bring her out. I have gone after them this way. Toward morning even the girl for whom the feast is given can be brought out to dance.

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The restriction against speaking lapses for the masked dancers at this time:

The masked dancer asks a girl, "Who shall I get for you to dance with?" The girl says, "That man by the fire." So the dancer goes over there and pulls that fellow. The man never pulls back. He has to go and dance.

The relaxation of the masked dancer's semisacred role goes even further:

The last night the masked dancer can dance with any girl if she chooses him, and this girl has to be paid. But the feast-maker has to pay her for him. The masked dancer has been helping him all night, so of his own accord the feast-giver walks out there and pays the girl. I have seen that happen many times.

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Every man has to compensate his partner at the close of the dancing:

One time everyone was paying but one man. He had nothing with him, but he must have had some horses over at his camp. This man walked around there and picked up a dry ball of horse dung. He walked back to the place where the other men were paying the women. He went to the girl he had danced with and right before the crowd he handed her the horse dung. Even in those days very few knew the meaning of this. Horses were very scarce then, and it was pretty hard to part with a horse and give it to anybody.

The girl receiving the horse dung didn't know the meaning of it. She took it home to her people, to her camp. She told her father and mother, "This is all I got!"

Her father was an old man and knew what it meant. He told her right away, "That's more than the other people got over there. That means a horse; that man means he is going to give you a horse." Sure enough, that came true.

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Upon the givers of the feast falls the responsibility of seeing that all participants are satisfied with their rewards: "If a girl is not paid and the boy runs away, she can go to the ones giving the ceremony or to someone in authority there and protest. This has been done." As a final gesture of appreciation toward

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As a final gesture of appreciation toward those who have helped make the social aspect of their ceremony a success, the hosts "give a personal present to the women who dance until sunup."

Conclusion.—The final events of the rite should take place in the sun's rays and, if the sunrise is obscured by clouds, the people wait patiently for the emergence of the first beams. As the eastern skies become lighter, twelve songs, familiarly known as "stop" songs, close another chapter of the ceremony. One of the last of these, heralding the appearance of the sun, simply repeats over and over:

> The sun, emerging,
> Says to me, "My grandchild."

The last of this series is a graceful apotheosis of the life-journey upon which the adolescent girl has embarked:

> You have started out on the good earth;
> You have started out with good moccasins;
> With moccasin strings of the rainbow, you have started out;
> With moccasin strings of the sun's rays, you have started out;
> In the midst of plenty you have started out.

Now the girl faces the east, kneeling on the hide. The space to the east of the ceremonial structure is cleared of all loiterers:

> They won't let anyone, even a dog, go across between the sun and the ceremonial structure on the last morning. They say that anyone who does this will get sick and die. I believe it. F.'s daughter didn't think and went across once just as the sun was coming up. She died soon afterward.

The sticks which have been erected around the fire pit during the singing are gathered up in clockwise direction, tied in a bundle, and deposited in the coiled basket tray containing the other ceremonial objects.

The singer faces the east with the basket before him and sings four songs. Everything is taken out of the basket except white clay. Then the singer faces the girl and puts pollen first on his own face and head and then on her head. Meanwhile the attendant has mixed water with the white clay in the basket. After another song, the singer paints a line of white and red on the girl's face. Again he turns to the east. He hands his rattle to a man who comes forward to assist him.

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He dips his right forefinger into the red paint, holds it up, and sings the "Red Paint Song." Using a splinter of wood to trace the rays, he draws a sun symbol on the palm of his left hand in pollen, red ocher, and specular iron ore. While he does this, he sings a song, "a long one because it takes a long time to put that design on":

Now I'll make long life of the sun's rays,
Now I'll make long life of the sun's pointed rays,
I'll make peaks extending outward.
The rays of the sun and long life are made of pollen,
The points of the sun and long life are made of pollen,
The points of the sun and long life are made of specular iron ore,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of specular iron ore,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of blue paint,
The points of the sun and long life are made of blue paint,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of red paint,
The points of the sun and long life are made of red paint,
The rays of the sun and long life are made of white paint,
The points of the sun and long life are made of white paint.

The completed sun symbol is held up to the advancing shafts of light as the singer chants:

That which comes has come well out,
In here it has come.

Again the singer faces the girl. He touches the painted hand to her body at various places, circles her head clockwise with it, and finally obliterates the symbol by rubbing it over her head just as the rays of the sun shine upon her. At this time, too, the singer ties a piece of abalone shell or turquoise to the girl's forelock.

The eagle feather with which the girl has been led to the inclosure each of the four nights has been thrust into the bundle of grama grass. The singer uses the stems and the quill of this bundle as a brush to paint the girl with white clay. First he paints the right side and then the left side of her face, next her right arm below the elbow and her left arm, and finally her legs from the moccasin tops to the knees. This is a signal for the onlookers to press forward. With the materials left, the singer marks them on various parts of their bodies as they file past him.

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881 533 793 When no more come, he returns to the girl, removes the eagle feather from the improvised paint brush, and extends the tip toward her. She grasps this, arises, and follows him as he walks backward, shaking his rattle and singing. Before they reach the front of the ceremonial structure, he has paused four times and sung two songs "about walking along the place of many fruit trees."

Meanwhile the attendant has replaced the ritual objects in the basket. She lays down a buckskin, head to the east, and places the laden basket before it. When the singer and the girl pause at the hide, the eagle feather is added to the tray's contents.

[574] No sooner have the singer and the adolescent left the ceremonial structure than containers of food are brought and placed [788] in a straight line extending east of the fire pit. The singer marks each food receptacle with a pollen cross, and the people eat.

881 346 After the meal the men begin to dismantle the ceremonial structure, stripping the oak boughs from the sides and leaving the framework, the four main poles, standing alone.

881 533 793 788 A "trail" of pollen and specular iron ore is now prepared for the girl. Working from west to east, the singer outlines four footprints on the skin, the first in specular iron ore, the second in pollen, the third in specular iron ore again, and the fourth in pollen. Slowly, as her guide sings, the girl leads with her right foot and walks along this ceremonial path. At the end of the fourth verse and fourth step she stands at the head of the hide. Children, old people, and the infirm then walk along this same path.

Now the attendant takes the basket tray and, as was done the first morning of the rite, places it twenty-five or thirty paces to the east. At a word from the singer, the adolescent runs to the basket, circles it clockwise, and returns to the starting-place. The call of the attendant is heard as she runs. After the run the basket is moved westward. For two more runs an identical procedure is followed, but on the fourth and last run, the girl completely circles the basket, bends low to pick up the feather from it, and trots east once more to some designated point. She circles it clockwise and heads westward once again.

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The last run is made so that the girl will be strong, so that she will be a good runner and have a good heart [i.e., be brave]. Some used to run about a quarter of a mile to the east this last time. Because of this some girls became as good runners as men in the old days. If they have far to go, they do not have to run all the way. They can alternate between walking and running.

As the girl approaches the ceremonial structure for the last time, the attendant calls; the main poles are pushed to the east; and, as favors are tossed in the air and the children scramble for them, the girl makes her way to the encampment of her parents.

The temporary camps that have been established for the period of the rite begin to disappear. The poles of the ceremonial structure lie unmolested; they may not be used for firewood.

The girl's family stays on the grounds four days after the ceremony ends. During that time the girl can't wash and has to wear her costume. She must use the scratcher and reed for these four days too.

The girl has still another ritual duty to perform:

The little ceremony where the girl gives the horse takes place four days after the close of the big feast. A horse, any kind of a horse, is required. It always was so and has been handed down. She is still dressed in her costume. She walks the horse to the singer. That ends it. Her part is now over.

On the morning of the ninth day "before the sun comes up, the woman who cares for the girl [attendant] prepares yucca root and warm water and washes the girl's hair and entire body."

The prevailing tone of this ceremony is one of pleasure and promise. The physiological aspects of maturation are little emphasized. The behavior restrictions imposed upon the girl are not irksome, and their violation brings no really dire consequences. She is not isolated but achieves recognition as the central figure of a major social and ritual event during which she is likened to a supernatural being. Her formal introduction to adult status is accomplished in the midst of abundance, ritual safeguards, and festivity; therefore, she has little desire to return to the status which preceded the recognition accorded her.

Many heterogeneous elements combine to produce the girl's puberty rite. The singer, the attendant, the masked-dancer shaman, the dancers themselves, the musical accompanists for the social dance songs—all possess individual prerogatives which are not subject to call. The participation of these persons can

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881 182 only be guaranteed by separate arrangements between them and the sponsors of the ceremony. Various aspects of the rite, such as the masked dancing and the singing within the ceremonial structure, have but the loosest relations to one another from a purely logical point of view. Yet everyone regards the ritual as a unity and accepts that somehow all the necessities will be secured and the integration achieved in time-honored fashion. No threat to individual rights is made, and there is no danger of reprisal for failure to respond. The motive force is primarily psychological. Because the people at large share in the blessing of the girl and because the ceremony provides them with an eagerly awaited social occasion, to take part in the total round of activities becomes almost a public duty.

THE NOVITIATE FOR RAID AND WAR

881 868 702 When the boy reaches the age at which the girl is elevated to womanhood, he is still undergoing the hardening process. Tasks allotted to the young woman can be graduated according to her strength, but the young man on the raid must cover the same distance and suffer the same hardships as the sturdiest member of the party. Therefore, his social maturation is slower.

At about his sixteenth year the youth approaches manly standards. Yet he is not permitted to plunge recklessly from raiding games to the dangerous reality of stealing the horses of the enemy. Instead, he must serve an apprenticeship on his first four raiding or war expeditions. During this period, though he is exposed to a minimum of danger, he acquires the experience which will enable him to undertake with confidence the hazards of war. This novitiate constitutes the conventionalized mechanism through which the youth reaches adult status.

881 868 702 484 Before a boy is accepted as a novice, he learns how to care for himself on the march, especially what to do if he should become separated from the others:

My relatives and the older men told me, "If you are going on a journey from here, have the women pound meat and fat for you, enough for a week. Take water. Then at sundown, just when it is dark enough so that you can't be seen in the distance, start out. Try to make it across the flats and to the mountains on the other side by daybreak. Then get in the brush and look around. Keep in the

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brush until night and then start out to the next mountain range. Don't go across flats in the day. Only travel day and night if you are in the mountains." 868 881 702 484

About water they told me this: "If you don't know where there is water, get up on a high place and look for the green spots. Where there are trees and green grass growing, there you will find water. Don't go to it in the day though. Enemies look for you there. No matter how thirsty you are, wait until night comes. Then go there, drink, and fill up any water container you have brought with you."

Also they told me to go to sleep in a place from which I could get to cover quickly. And they told me, "Even if it is a hot day, don't go to the deep shade. Go under a little bush in the open or under grass. The first place a Mexican or another Indian or a wild animal looks when it comes along is in the shade, and there you are. If you are in the tall grass and hear something, just pick some grass up, hold it before you, and look through it. Then it will be hard to see you, especially from a distance. If you are out where the brush is heavy and you want to conceal yourself without moving, just take a branch which is to the right or left and pull it in front of you."

I was spoken to in this manner also. "If you see someone in the distance and don't know who it is, pick out a place from which you can get to cover easily but which is in the open and visible from this cover. Take grass and make a fire and put evergreen on to make a heavy smoke. Then put it out at once and run to the place from which you can see well. The person will come over to the place where the fire was, and you can tell who he is. You are in a good place from which to strike or get away if he is an enemy, and you can go to him if he is a friend.

"If you are lost or want to find someone, make a fire and a smoke and put it out. Look around then. Your friends will make one too and then you'll find them. If you want someone to follow you, send up smoke and at the place put a notched stick pointing toward the direction in which you went. Your friends will find it. They will come in to your people and say, 'The fire looks as though it was made two or three days ago; we'd better follow at once.'" [487]

They told me how to camp out in bad weather too. They said: "In winter try to find a tree with wide branches, for there will be less snow under it than in other places. Rake away what snow is there. Find a dry spot, cut branches, and pile them on it, and put your robe on them. Sleep near a fire there. Build the fire on top of the ground if you are not going to stay long. If you are going to camp there for some time, dig a pit."

There is no definite age at which a boy must join his first expedition: "When a boy is old enough, he volunteers." Though there is no compulsion to participate, the physically fit who wish to enjoy material benefits can hardly choose another course. Because of its practical and ceremonial extensions this apprenticeship is indispensable to successful warfare, and the man who has 881 868 702 721 [554]

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881 not undergone it is not cheerfully received by members of a raid-
868 ing party he seeks to join. "Some do not volunteer. They are
702 looked down upon. They cannot go on the warpath." Yet the
721 youth who is unprepared is not goaded into premature participa-
tion. "If a boy thinks he can't stand it, he doesn't go." Nor does any boy start out ignorant of what he faces: "When a boy wants to volunteer, his relatives tell him of the hardships and dangers. If he still wants to go, they let him."

Once a boy has declared his intention of becoming a novice, he receives advice to guide his conduct during the four expeditions:

The first four times are important because, if a man shows himself to be unreliable and disobedient these first four times, that will remain his nature throughout expeditions and battles. The boys are told this, and they try to be at their best during this time. So they don't cause much trouble.

[834] While you are a novice you have to watch out for your morals. If you are
[867] loose when you come back from one of these expeditions and have a lot of sexual
[507] intercourse, it will be your nature through life. Boys are instructed from the start about this. These things are impressed on them: "Don't be a coward; don't be untruthful; don't eat too much when you come back to camp between raids, or that will be your nature." So during the entire period the boy puts out his best [effort] and behaves his best.

881 One informant testified that the necessary information was
868 imparted to him by his father. Another claimed that "a relative
702 teaches the boy; a special man is not needed." Yet from still
756 other accounts it is clear that shamans whose rites center about
721 the location and frustration of the enemy and the granting of invulnerability in battle often prepare the youths for these
[714] journeys. Their selection is logical, for "these shamans, the 'bow
shamans,' also make the jackets and other things which protect
[561] a man in battle." Often a number of young men of the same age are put in the care of one shaman.

All the volunteers are gathered and instructed by the shaman. They are taught the words and how they should conduct themselves. They are given a general outline of what they should do. It takes just a few days to learn.

[714] The inexperienced boys who are on the raid for the first time have a certain
[271] kind of hat. And they are the only ones who have the drinking-tube along. The
[413] drinking-tube has a scratching-stick attached to it; that is, on the same cord. This scratching-stick is about five inches long and is made from the wood of any tree that bears fruit.

[714] The shaman in charge of the boys makes the hats for them. There is no pay-

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ment for this. It is like an issue[14] to the boys that comes automatically. This comes from a certain kind of shaman who has to do with war. The drinking-tube is given by the same person and is issued in the same way. The shaman has prayers to the directions. He throws pollen to the directions as he makes these things. The tube and the scratcher have a lightning design on. When the boy comes back, he returns the hat, scratcher, and tube to the shaman. The shaman can use them again for others.

"One who is a novice is different from the others." The difference is in the first instance a ritual one: "The older men treat the novices reverently because these young men are on one of their first raids and there are restrictions upon them." Like the pubescent girl, the novice is identified with a supernatural. "On the raid and warpath the men call the novice Child of the Water." Sacred aspects are further emphasized by behavior and food restrictions:

The novice, when he first gets the tube and scratcher and goes out with the others, cannot turn around quickly and look behind him. He must glance over his shoulder first. And in facing the other way he has to turn toward the sun first, the way they throw pollen. Bad luck would come to the party if this was not done.

If the boy does not use the scratcher, his skin will be soft; the flesh will be no good. He has to use the tube for all drinking. It is a rule that is put upon the boy. If he does not use the scratcher and tube, his whiskers will grow fast.

There is also a very strict rule against a novice having sexual intercourse while he is out.

Another thing: he must use the words that have been taught him. If he disobeys in this, he will be very unlucky.

Novices are not allowed to eat warm food, but must eat it cold. If they have to cook the food, they must let it get cold before they eat it. If the novice eats warm food, horses will not be worth anything to him. He is not allowed to eat entrails either. If he eats entrails, he will not have good luck with horses. Meat from the head of an animal is forbidden to him also.

To these rules various informants have added others. The novice should not gaze upward when he is on the raid or a heavy rain will come. He is not supposed to laugh at anyone, no matter how amusing the situation. He must speak respectfully to all the men and must not talk freely or obscenely about women. He must stay awake until he is given permission to lie down; to go to

[14] The Chiricahua refer to rations and goods distributed by reservation officials and the military as "issues."

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881 868 702 721 784 [513] [261] [262] sleep before the others would show indolence and would cause all the members of the party to be drowsy. The novice is cautioned against eating heartily lest he become gluttonous, and he is forbidden to eat choice parts of the meat or anything from the inside of the animal. When captured stock is killed on the return journey, the tough neck part is set aside for him. Also the ban against anything from the inside of an animal is then relaxed, and novices may be fed lung so that the stock will not become exhausted before the party reaches home.

881 868 702 721 Although his conduct is so important for the success of the expedition, the novice is obliged to gain his practical experience in a subordinate capacity:

> They take the novices four times for the rough work but won't let them fight. It is to toughen them, they say.
>
> The novices have to get the water and wood and do the heavy work around the camp when the men stop for the night. The men order them around pretty much. They must get up early in the morning and build the fire and care for the horses if there are any along. They are told, "Go over there and get those horses," and they have to go pretty fast. They have to do the cooking and make beds for the men. Sometimes they carry provisions for the men too. The men make these boys stay up on guard. They are the only ones who do guard duty.

881 868 702 721 192 The words which the boy learns and which he is instructed to use during his first four raiding journeys constitute a vocabulary of circumlocutory elements which replace ordinary forms of speech: "They had ceremonial words. Just the novice used them and only while he was out on the raid. The old men taught them these words and said, 'This is the novice's talk.' " In the raid or war vocabulary the term for heart becomes "that by means of which I live"; the customary word for pollen is replaced by a form which can be translated "that which is becoming life"; the owl is referred to as "he who wanders about at night," etc. Approximately eighty forms belonging to this special vocabulary have been collected. It is probable that the vocabulary was never a great deal more extensive, for the novice continues to designate most objects in the usual manner.[13]

[13] For a full analysis of the vocabulary see Opler and Hoijer, "The Raid and War-Path Language of the Chiricahua Apache," *American Anthropologist*, October–December, 1940.

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Although the novices are expected to share the hardships of the journey, they are guarded from actual physical danger. The loss of a novice reflects upon the leadership of the raid, for the youth is under the protection of ritual and is present primarily for experience. 881 868 702 721

But raiding in enemy country is hazardous work at best, and sometimes the raiders, when they go forward on a particularly dangerous mission, must leave the novice at a distance so that he will not be drawn into battle. Then, if they encounter difficulties or superior forces, they may be unable to reach him again. Novices deserted in this way have perished or have suffered great hardship before reaching their homes.

Not all boys who begin this apprenticeship pass through it successfully. "If a boy is unreliable and doesn't show improvement, they don't take him out any more. They just drop him."

No special raiding parties are organized for the convenience of the novice. "The boys are taken on when there is trouble and many raids take place; then they get through in a hurry." Depending upon the needs of the encampments and the state of intertribal relations, as much as a year may elapse between the first and the fourth journeys.

Unless there is sharp criticism of the young man's conduct on the last journey, when he returns home he belongs to the ranks of the men. Of him it is said, "He has just moved up to adulthood": "It means that he has arrived at the point where he is a real man. He doesn't have to stay at home. He is free to do what he will and to have his own views. He can smoke now, and he can marry." 882 885

When the next raid or war party is announced, this new adult may participate in the war dance and commit himself to the undertaking on a different basis: "The fifth time the restrictions are off; there are no obligations to rule the young men. After the first four trips, after the apprenticeship, these youths are put first in battle to try them out. The fifth time out they are expected to be in the front ranks." 882 885 721

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MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS, MARRIAGE, AND RESIDENCE

582 [584] Most marriages are arranged in terms of a conventional pattern in which the wishes of the families involved carry much weight. The early completion of the girl's training, the need of the encampment for additional young men, and the disapproval of premarital sex experience for women are all factors contributing to the tendency for girls to marry young. Therefore, "the [881] girl is allowed to marry by Chiricahua rule after her ceremony, after her first menstruation."[1]

881 864 At the time of puberty the girl is given the advice necessary to guide her actions in caring for herself at the time of menstruation and in regulating her relations with men:

> They tell the girls how to keep clean during menstruation. There are no restrictions on a woman at this time; she can eat any food and she can go around. But the girls are told to wear their old clothes during menstruation and that they [841] must not leave them around. They are shown how to wear something like a loincloth with a pad at this time. The girls are also reminded of the effect of menstrual blood on men. They are told that it makes men paralyzed and deformed, [492] unable to straighten their arms or legs. The girls are also told that they can ride mares but not male horses during menstruation.
>
> 881 867 836 581 And they tell a girl that she must stay pure until her marriage, that virginity is expected of a woman who has not been married before. They tell her that a man might leave a woman who is not a virgin, that the maidenhead is the sign of virginity, and if a woman is not proved a virgin by this means at marriage, a man would get angry and the marriage would be broken up.

581 [582] The young man cannot look forward to so early a marriage, for he must first prove his ability to provide for and defend a family by participating in the four raiding parties.

Marriage is considered less a romantic venture than a solid economic arrangement, though personal and individual values are by no means totally eliminated:

> Many of the old people think of marriage from the economic side. They advise a man to marry and have a home because they figure that the man will then be serious, will provide for his family, and get ahead. On the other hand, you can't disregard physical love either. Whether or not the old people think of this, the young ones do. I often hear people remarking that some boy has married just for love and wasn't sensible enough to take a girl who was a good worker and

[178] [1] Some informants deny this and even complain that "the girls marry too young today," but the evidence of former early marriage is conclusive.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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has to be made if the family is to live near "friends." All that can be said is that residence in one place rather than in another may be determined by the presence there of a family with which friendly connections have been established through marriage. 621 602 591

The presence of his own kin in the same local group where he lives with his affinities assures the newly married man of the perpetuation of a good many past ties, as an understanding of the relations between the extended family and the local group suggests. 602 621

The local group is a cluster of encampments in one general locality. It is a division of the larger group, the band. The people in it all camp around some well known spot from which the local group gets its name. Those who camp around Mora Mountain are called "People of Mora Mountain." This refers to all the people living together in this region. But within the local group there would be other divisions. All would not live at one place. Some would camp on one side of the mountain, some would camp on the other. Others might camp at any favorable spot near water. These smaller groups or camps are decided along relationship lines. That is, all the relatives and those who marry into a certain family live together. 621 596 361 [101]

These smaller units, the extended families, are referred to by means of the leading men in them. Thus, we speak of N.'s encampment, C.'s encampment. The local group is not a relationship group strictly, but the extended family does consist of relatives. If a person asks, "Who are you? To what people do you belong?" you give the name of your band. But if someone asks where you live, you say that you are one of a certain local group. 621 596 101

The local group tie is essentially one of residence and may be severed summarily: 621 602

The children are usually members of the local group to which the mother belongs, because a man is supposed to live near and work for his wife's people. When a man of one local group marries a woman of another, his direct affiliation with the first local group is over. He is now related by marriage to people in the second local group. But he has relatives in the first one, and in case of trouble or divorce he would go back there. 591

Further characteristics of the local group are summarized in this explanation: 621 596

The local group consists of a number of extended families living near some prominent family, that is, living around some family who has a good leader. This leader would be expected to lead the men of the local group when they go on a raid or engage in war. But each extended family has its own place to store food. And whenever a girl's puberty rite takes place, people outside the local group come too. 591 [554] [251] [881] [619]

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755 and he tells me that I must follow certain rules. For instance, for a headache I
756 must not put a knife in a cooking pot.** If I violate the rule, the disease will come back on me again. Or he may tell me to have the door of my house to the east. If I don't do this, if I violate this rule, the Mountain People will know whether I have done this or not, and the disease will come back to me.

It is up to the sick man to make gifts, anything he wants to give. After the fourth time the sick man is taken back to his own camp. In cases where the feather drops or the abalone drops, after the shaman leaves the man, he will keep on praying until the man gets well anyway.

[535] A Mountain Spirit shaman can also perform his rite without any dancers. If there is a sudden emergency, if the full ceremony would be too costly for his patient, or if he cannot find enough dancers, he uses only the headdresses which the dancers customarily wear, placing them against the body of his patient and gesticulating with them to the directions to send the sickness away.

731 Many ceremonies cure the sickness of individuals, but the pre-
751 vention of epidemics is a signal function of the masked-dancer
535 rite. "When I hear of disease coming, I paint them and tell them
789 to chase the disease away with the sticks," said a Mountain
796 Spirit shaman. "When sickness is around, the masked dancers and the clown are made on a hill and then come to the people below, making fires on the way down. In this way they keep sickness away."

[522] It is at such times that the clown, who merely acts as messen-
[881] ger and funmaker at the girl's puberty rite, may come into his own:

The old man always told us that the clown was the most powerful of the masked dancers. He said, "People think that the clown is just nothing, that he is just for fun. That is not so. When I make other masked dancers, and they do not set things right or can't find out something, I make that clown and he never fails." Many people who know about these things say that the clown is the most powerful.

At times of danger or epidemic another masked dancer, Black One, is sometimes made:

There are different grades of masked dancers. There is the clown, and he is dangerous. Then there is Black One, and he is supposed to be very dangerous. Black One wears nothing but feathers on top of his mask. He is painted black.

[252]
[784] ** There is a general prohibition against stirring food with a knife.

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The round dance takes place after the war dance at the return of the party. It can come at day or night. The dance is to show that they hate the enemy. The men are in a knot in the center and go around the fire with drums, singing. The women are in a circle outside facing toward the men. They dance in a sunwise circle. The men go around too. They sing songs about raid and war, like:

Whatever you have brought back with you,
Give me some of it.

This is a sample of the songs sung; they have to do with what happens on the warpath. Another of these songs tells of one who got out on a war party and then got separated from the others. In the words it says:

I've been wandering around,
Wandering around;
When I got home,
Everyone had moved.

The partner dance, in which the woman is free to choose a male partner, follows the round dance, just as it does the nights of the girl's puberty rite. Again the women are paid by the men who have danced with them. One informant claims that the obligation to pay the dance partner is fundamental to the victory celebration, when the men are in possession of booty, and that the gift-giving following the dancing of the puberty rite is an outgrowth of this custom. "The only time men paid for social dancing in the old days was when they returned from the warpath," he asserts. "They did not pay for dancing with women during the puberty ceremony in the old days."

In the fourth dance of the night, as at the girl's puberty rite, a line of men and another of women face each other and alternately approach and separate.

A Southern Chiricahua informant mentioned one other dance which he claims sometimes took place at a victory celebration. This he calls "holy singing walk." As he describes it, a single line of individuals, with men and women alternating, extends spokelike from the fire and swings around it sunwise: "They dance this when they come back from a war party, after the 'fierce dance.' There are no partners to it. Religious songs go with it; this is more of a religious dance."

There is no evidence that conventional morality is totally dis-

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262 it differently. Then they gather them green, and each woman cuts a long stick,
252 six or seven feet long, just heavy enough so that a person can sit there all day long hitting the nuts and hulling them. One woman will be sitting with hers spread out on the ground before her; another will be a little distance away. They
[251] have to do this near water, near a creek, and wash them. Next they spread them out to dry for many days when the weather is good.

Then in wintertime they use the nuts with mesquite beans or mescal. They sit there and pound the nuts with a stone, shell and all, just as fine as possible. The mesquite beans are boiled and strained. For a strainer they use sticks that cross or a branch that has many twigs. This catches nearly all the coarse material. Then they put the nuts in but do not boil the mixture any more. It is ready to eat then.

When this is finished, you can dip in there with your bowl and hold it to your
[881] mouth and drink it like soup. This food is used nearly always at the girl's puberty rite.

[276] It's just the opposite from chewing tobacco. When you chew tobacco, you spit out the juice and leave in the coarse stuff; when you eat this, you swallow the juice and spit out the coarse stuff.

[184] An Eastern Chiricahua added to the above that his people boil the meats of walnuts as well.

222 The nuts of the Western yellow pine are not large enough to
262 gain much attention: "We don't pick them much; just a few now and then." Of much more importance are the seeds of the
[252] piñon pine. "When the outside shell is still green, the women pick many of them, heat them, and then, when they are shaken or stroked, the little nuts come out. Some ripen on the trees by themselves, open, and the nuts fall to the ground. The women pick these up too."

252 The women parch the piñon nuts for a few minutes until "they
262 get a little darker; then they will keep." There are a number of
[251] ways of utilizing the seeds. They may be cracked with a stone and the meats eaten alone, or the meats, when a sufficient quantity of them is shelled, "are mixed with yucca fruit which has been baked on coals; it makes good eating." As in the preparation of walnuts, the seeds, shell and all, may be ground fine on the metate and mixed with other foods. Mesquite beans, mescal, yucca fruit, and sumac berries have been mentioned as other foods with which they are combined.

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are too heavy to carry along. But we take the mano which is ready made and carry it along often. Then the woman uses it on a flat rock or one with a shallow depression.

Some metates are fashioned by the women for themselves, however:

[324]

These metates are about two feet long and one foot wide. They have a little depression which the woman makes by pecking it out with another stone and then rubbing it smooth. A woman has just one grinder on which she grinds the same food several times if she wants to make it finer.

Some women carry these all the time. It all depends on how often we move and how far we are going. The mano used with this grindstone is about six or eight inches long, just long enough so that a woman can work with two hands. Chiricahua women kneel when grinding. We have no grinding songs.

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[252]
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A pounder of animal bone, or one of a stone selected because its shape conveniently fits the hand, is another utensil with which the woman equips herself.

[237]

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Housebuilding.—The woman not only makes the furnishings of the home but is responsible for the construction, maintenance, and repair of the dwelling itself and for the arrangement of everything in it. She provides the grass and brush beds and replaces them when they become too old and dry. With a stiff grass broom or with a leafy branch, she sweeps out the interior if that is necessary. However, formerly "they had no permanent homes, so they didn't bother with cleaning."

342
[184]

The dome-shaped dwelling or wickiup, the usual house type for all the Chiricahua bands, has already been described.[13] But a "peaked" home of brush, roughly resembling a conical Plains tepee in shape is also made. Said a Central Chiricahua informant:

Both the tepee and the oval-shaped house were used when I was a boy. The oval hut was covered with hide and was the best house. The more well-to-do had this kind. The tepee type was just made of brush. It had a place for a fire in the center. It was just thrown together.

Both types were common even before my time. For the girl's puberty rite the tepee type was used. Ten or more poles are used in the tepee. The number depends on the person who makes it. It is woman's work to do it, though sometimes the men would help a little.

[881]
[346]
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[13] See pp. 22–23.

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342 184 A house form that departs from the more common dome-shaped variety is recorded for the Southern Chiricahua as well:

A house with sides that go up to a point has been used as far back as I can remember. When we settled down, we used the wickiup; when we were moving around a great deal, we used this other kind. No certain number of poles was used for this type. The poles were never carried along. For the girl's puberty rite my people used the tepee. I can remember this was used back when I was eight or nine years old.

[588] [346]

This alternate house type with slanting sides was a hastily constructed and very temporary dwelling among the Central and Southern Chiricahua and is hardly comparable to the permanent home of the Plains Indians. Among the Eastern Chiricahua, however, the tepee was more common and was better made, though it never became the favored form:

A few of the Eastern Chiricahua had a tepee like that of the Mescalero. Sometimes it was made with a three-pole base and sometimes with a four-pole base. The three-pole base was more common. In my day it was cloth covered, but the old people talk of them and say that, before the whites and the Spanish were here, hides were used. But most of the people of my group used the round house. The Eastern Chiricahua didn't drag the poles of the tepee when they moved. They put them on the front of the saddle, as many as they could carry, and then went back for the rest. Usually they just discarded them though. They could always make new ones.

[484] [492]

342 In addition to these regular house forms, both men and women, when they were away from home, made windbreaks by "crossing some sticks and throwing brush and leaves against them."

HOME INDUSTRIES OF MEN

411 [462] *Weapons and tools.*—Foremost among the man's tasks when he is at home are the making and the repairing of weapons.

[824] The favorite wood for the bow is from the mulberry tree. Oak, locust, and New Mexico maple are also acceptable. The self-bow is the only type made. It is usually three to four feet long, "the length of two arrows."[18] Almost always it has a single curve, though double-curved bows are made occasionally.

[18] These would be the "short" or hardwood shafted arrows. For arrow lengths see p. 390.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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755 fourth verse of the songs, or at the end of the second or fourth song, he looks for some sign or word from his power which will guide him in the further steps to be taken. If sorcery has caused the complaint, the object shot into the victim by the sorcerer may have to be sucked out, either [757] through a tube or with the lips. A concoction of herbs as medicine may be prescribed. Food and behavior taboos may [784] be imposed on the patient. Various plants may be burned that the patient may inhale the smoke. Parts of animals and ceremonial objects may be rubbed on the sufferer's body.

755 82 Red ochre, white clay, and specular iron ore figure prominently in Apache ceremonials in addition to the ritual objects already mentioned. Snakeweed *(Gutierrezia* sp.), grama grass *(Bouteloua* sp.) and sage *(Artemisia* sp.) are plants much used in ceremonial contexts. The source from which curative power comes is nearly always represented in the rite by some body part. If that source is animal, its hide or some part of it will be in evidence. If it is a bird, the tail feather will, in all likelihood, be found among the ceremonial paraphernalia manipulated.

778 787 789 Though curing occupies the central place in Apache ceremonialism, power can be approached with other ends in view, and its aid obtained for locating the enemy, finding lost objects, helping in the hunt, for learning the probable outcome of a given course of action, and for the solving of many other problems.

852 There were ceremonies, too, which were performed over the growing child at specific times to insure for him long life and good health. A ceremony was held when the child was put into the cradle; another when he was about to walk. About a year later, in the spring, a rite was performed in which the hair was cut, that it might afterwards grow out full and thick.

881 The only Apache ceremony which deviated from the shamanistic principle and which did not depend for its success upon the personal relation between a shaman and [773] his power, was the girl's puberty rite. This was a rite which in theory had been taught to the Apache by the culture hero

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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and his divine mother, and its execution was, therefore, a matter of learning by rote the directions which these two laid down.[1]

HUNTING

Something has already been said about the hunt in connection with our discussion of the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings. Apache hunting customs are so interlarded with belief and ritual observances that only the briefest outline can be suggested here.

When the Apache boy is still very young, a close male relative provides him with a small bow and blunt arrows. With these the boy practices, trying to shoot birds and small mammals. When he succeeds in making his first kill, he marks its heart with a cross of pollen and swallows it raw and whole. At about the age of puberty he hunts in the company of an older and more experienced man for larger game. When he kills his first deer, antelope, or elk, his companion marks the boy's moccasins or face with blood from the heart of the animal.

The Apache ate the flesh of deer, antelope, elk, mountain sheep, cotton-tail rabbits, opossum, and wood rats. The buffalo was hunted by the Mescalero, as we have noted. Many would not touch jack-rabbit flesh. Some ate mountain-lion flesh and peccary, but many would not taste peccary, and mountain-lion was eaten by most in a ceremonial context only. Bear was eaten only by those who had a ceremony from the bear or by those who were consuming it ritually. Some ate squirrel flesh, and some would not taste it. The same was true for the prairie-dog and ringtail cat *(Bassariscus astutus flavus)*. Birds were not in high favor as food. As far back as can be remembered many Apache would not eat turkey, quail, and dove. Fish was another food upon which the Apache were not of one opinion. The members of at least one Chiricahua band did not eat fish before White contact. It is claimed, on the other hand, that

[1] For a more complete discussion of the Apache conception of supernatural power see Opler (18).

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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787 right up to them and talk. You and I can't see it or hear it,
778 but they can. Like in one ceremony I saw: the shaman said in one place, "Everything is light. I see a big light." He saw it, but it was a pitch-dark night, and we couldn't see a thing.

771 The Chiricahua, like all people who have developed a religious
778 system, have had, in spite of the religious safeguards which they
756 affirm, to recognize the existence of failure, danger, death, and
754 evil. They account for them by a theory of the plasticity and
182 duality of power. Thus hateful individuals may employ complacent power for malevolent rather than kindly ends. Or the personified source of the power may itself be represented as malicious and may lead weak-willed shamans into dubious practices by deceit, threats, and promises. Therefore it is necessary to be constantly wary of cleverly veiled evil power (sorcery) and of ceremonialists (witches) who are not above using their rituals to harm, betray, or cause illness. Consequently, a substantial part [796] of Chiricahua ceremonialism, perhaps its most dramatic aspect, is the contest with supernatural power between the shamans and the sorcerers. Sometimes a shaman who controls one type of supernatural power, who has been granted a ceremony from a natural force or a heavenly body, for instance, may be suspicious of rituals from contrasting sources, such as the animals of the earth. These views are exemplified in the excerpts which follow:

I came to know that power is not good or bad of itself. It is just power. It can be used for good or evil. It all depends on the [796] person who has it. Look at the power from the Mountain [532] People. (The Mountain People are mountain-dwelling supernaturals who guard the Chiricahua and their territory from [535] harm. They are impersonated by masked dancers.) The Mountain People are good. They help the Chiricahua. We [881] have them at the girl's puberty rite. But they can, to the Chiricahua mind, be used for evil too. A good many people think X. is a witch and uses Mountain Spirit power for evil. A good many people will not go through that Mountain Spirit ceremony of his. When it is going on, they get pretty far in the back; they are taking no chances. But there are others who think it is all right, who go through with it and consider X. a shaman.